

No. 25-2120

**IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT**

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, et al.,
Appellees,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, et al.,
Appellants.

On Appeal from the United States District Court
for the Northern District of California
District Court Case No. 3:25-cv-1766

EXCERPTS OF RECORD

VOLUME 4

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF A.V. IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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DECLARATION OF A. V.

I, A. V. , declare:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

2. I have lived in the United States since 2023, and I first applied for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 2023. As a result of the decision by Secretary of Homeland Security Kristi Noem to terminate TPS for Venezuela, I expect to lose my legal status on April 7, 2025.

3. I am a member of the National TPS Alliance, and joined voluntarily because I believe in the mission of the organization.

4. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm my family and I have suffered since the announcement of the vacatur of the extension of TPS for Venezuela, and the harm we would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

Background

5. I am 23 years old and live in Alabama. I came to the U.S. on humanitarian parole in March 2023. I have approved TPS. My work permit and my driver's license expire in March 2025, as they are tied to my parole expiration.

6. I was studying medicine in Venezuela, despite enduring severe economic hardship. I often did not have money for the bus, so would walk for more than 40 minutes to get to classes. At times, my family did not have enough money for food, and I frequently experienced hunger. In 2019, government forces shot tear gas cannisters into the university buildings while I was in class. My classmates and I escaped, running for our lives. After that, I did not feel safe to return to the university and I was forced to abandon my studies. I began working in a medical warehouse, to save money so that I could eventually escape Venezuela.

7. Since being in the United States, I have worked very hard to support myself and my family members who remain in Venezuela. I currently work full-time, on the night shift, at an auto parts manufacturer. I have often held a second, part-time job as well.

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10. I have many family members in the United States, several of whom rely on me. My uncle, his wife, and their three-year-old son live in Alabama, near me, and rely on me. Another cousin lives nearby with her two U.S. citizen children. She also relies on me for protection from deportation and work authorization.

12. However, as the 2024 presidential election drew near, I began struggling with severe anxiety and fears that I would lose my TPS status and everything that I have worked for. News reports about President Trump's plans to deport all immigrants awakened a deep sense of dread in me, as I am terrified to return to Venezuela.

13. I began to experience panic attacks for the first time in my life. In August 2024, I suffered a panic attack so intense that I made a terrible mistake. Desperate to quiet my mind and body, I overdosed on allergy medicine. A friend realized what had happened and drove me to the hospital. I was there for two days. After that, I began therapy and antidepressants to help me manage my anxiety over my immigration status and fear of being sent back to Venezuela.

14. If TPS is terminated, I will lose my job and my ability to work in the United States. I will not be able to renew my driver's license. I will not be able to afford to pay rent, support myself or send money to my family members in Venezuela who rely on my remittances to purchase food and basic necessities, like medicine for my mother's serious heart condition. I have no other form of immigration relief pending, and TPS is my only protection from deportation.

15. I joined the National TPS Alliance (NTSPA) after viewing a webinar on

1 February 12, 2025. I immediately signed up to be a member, believing in the mission of
2 the organization. I also forwarded the information to everyone I could think of who is
3 impacted by the decision to terminate TPS for Venezuela.

4 16. It is important for me to share my story, but, sadly, I am afraid to do so
5 publicly. I am afraid of retaliation from the government for participating in this lawsuit. I
6 am terrified of returning to Venezuela, so I am worried that publicly participating could
7 increase the chance that I would be deported.

8
9 I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and that this
10 declaration was executed at Alabama this 20th day of February, 2025.

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12 /s/ A.V.
13 A. V.

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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

I hereby attest that I have on file all holographic signatures corresponding to any signatures indicated by a conformed signature (/S/) within this e-filed document.

/s/ Emilou Maclean
Emilou Maclean

I, Emilia Garcia, certify that I am competent to translate from English to Spanish and that the document “DECLARACIÓN OF A.V.” (DECLARATION OF A.V.) is a true and accurate translation of the document from English to Spanish to the best of my knowledge and ability. I declare that this statement is true and accurate, under penalty of perjury, and that his certification was signed in Loomis, California on this day the 20th of February, 2025.



Emilia Garcia

DECLARACIÓN DE A. V.

Yo, A. V. , declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración. Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Vivo en los Estados Unidos desde 2023, y solicité por primera vez el Estatus de Protección Temporal (Temporary Protected Status, TPS) en 2023. Como resultado de la decisión de la Secretaria de Seguridad Nacional, Kristi Noem, de poner fin al TPS para Venezuela, espero perder mi estatus legal el 7 de abril de 2025.

3. Soy miembro de la Alianza Nacional TPS y me uní voluntariamente porque creo en la misión de la organización.

4. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que mi familia y yo hemos sufrido desde el anuncio de la anulación de la extensión del TPS para Venezuela, y el daño que sufriríamos si el TPS finalmente se termina.

Antecedentes

5. Tengo 23 años y vivo en Alabama. Llegué a los EE. UU. con un permiso humanitario en marzo de 2023. Tengo el TPS aprobado. Mi permiso de trabajo y mi licencia de conducir vencen en marzo de 2025, ya que están vinculados al vencimiento de mi permiso humanitario.

6. Estudiaba medicina en Venezuela, a pesar de soportar graves dificultades económicas. A menudo no tenía dinero para el autobús, así que caminaba más de 40 minutos para llegar a clase. A veces, mi familia no tenía suficiente dinero para comer y yo pasaba hambre con frecuencia. En 2019, las fuerzas gubernamentales dispararon botes de gas lacrimógeno contra los edificios de la universidad mientras yo estaba en clase. Mis compañeros de clase y yo escapamos, corriendo para salvar nuestras vidas. Después de eso, no me sentí seguro para volver a la universidad y me vi obligado a abandonar mis estudios. Empecé a trabajar en un almacén médico para ahorrar dinero y poder escapar de Venezuela.

7. Desde que estoy en Estados Unidos, he trabajado muy duro para mantenerme

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1 a mí y a mis familiares que permanecen en Venezuela. Actualmente trabajo a tiempo
2 completo, en el turno de noche, en una fábrica de piezas de automóvil. A menudo he
3 tenido un segundo trabajo a tiempo parcial.

4 8. He pagado impuestos durante los dos años que he trabajado en Estados
5 Unidos.

6 9. Estoy estudiando inglés con la esperanza de convertirme algún día en
7 paramédico.

8 10. Tengo muchos familiares en Estados Unidos, varios de los cuales dependen
9 del TPS. Mi tío, su esposa y su hijo de tres años viven en Alabama, cerca de mí, y
10 dependen del TPS. Otra prima vive cerca con sus dos hijos, ciudadanos estadounidenses.
11 Ella también depende del TPS para protegerse de la deportación y obtener autorización de
12 trabajo.

13 **Impacto de la Condición de protección temporal**

14 11. La estabilidad económica que el TPS me ha proporcionado ha sido
15 transformadora. Me ha emocionado la sensación de tener comida, agua y electricidad en
16 abundancia. Sentí que podía respirar por primera vez.

17 12. Sin embargo, a medida que se acercaban las elecciones presidenciales de
18 2024, comencé a sufrir una ansiedad severa y temores de perder mi estatus de TPS y todo
19 por lo que he trabajado. Las noticias sobre los planes del presidente Trump de deportar a
20 todos los inmigrantes despertaron en mí una profunda sensación de temor, ya que me
21 aterroriza regresar a Venezuela.

22 13. Empecé a sufrir ataques de pánico por primera vez en mi vida. En agosto de
23 2024, sufrí un ataque de pánico tan intenso que cometí un terrible error. Desesperado por
24 calmar mi mente y mi cuerpo, tomé una sobredosis de medicamentos para la alergia. Un
25 amigo se dio cuenta de lo que había pasado y me llevó al hospital. Estuve allí dos días.
26 Después de eso, comencé una terapia y tomé antidepresivos para ayudarme a controlar la
27 ansiedad por mi situación migratoria y el miedo a que me enviaran de vuelta a Venezuela.

28 **Impacto de la decisión de terminar la TPS**

Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que esta declaración se firmó en Alabama, hoy el día 20 de febrero de 2025.

•

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
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Plaintiffs,

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Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF FREDDY JOSE
ARAPE RIVAS IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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DECLARATION OF FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS

I, Freddy Jose Arape Rivas, declare:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

2. I am a citizen of Venezuela and I am a beneficiary of Temporary Protected Status (TPS). I am 33 years old, and I have lived in the United States since January 2023. TPS is currently my only form of work authorization and immigration protection. I registered for TPS pursuant to the 2023 designation of TPS for Venezuela. As a result of the decision by Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem to terminate TPS for Venezuela, my employment authorization will expire on April 2, 2025, and my legal status will expire on April 7, 2025.

3. I am also a member of the National TPS Alliance (NTPSA). I joined voluntarily, because I believe in the NTPSA's mission of defending the TPS program. I recently participated in a virtual NTPSA meeting regarding the termination of TPS for Venezuela, and I have talked with Orlando Zepeda, an NTPSA member who was also a plaintiff in the *Ramos* lawsuit, which challenged the prior TPS terminations during the first Trump administration, about defending TPS for Venezuela.

4. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm my family and I have suffered since the announcement of the termination of the extension TPS for Venezuela and the harm my family and I will suffer if the 2023 Venezuela TPS termination is allowed to take place on April 7, 2025.

Background

5. I was born and raised in Cabimas, Venezuela. I studied computer science in college and graduated in 2013. I worked in the private sector for technology companies until I felt forced to leave the country due to worsening economic conditions, repression, and rising violence.

6. I come from a family of faithful practitioners of democracy, always present in political struggles. My parents were among those fired from the oil industry in 2002

1 arbitrarily by Hugo Chavez, making us among the first victims of the flagrant violation of
2 human rights by his totalitarian regime. My parents struggled to find employment after
3 that. I believe they were effectively blacklisted because of our family's vocal opposition to
4 Chavez. Another family member was the mayor of our town, and an important leader in
5 the opposition party. My parents worked for him. He was eventually forced into exile. All
6 of these experiences led me to participate as a young adult in the processes of
7 transformation of my country, based on the ideas of freedom. I was involved in the
8 opposition party led by presidential candidate Henrique Capriles. I attended many protests
9 and was involved in political campaigns.

10 7. Unfortunately, due to worsening conditions in Venezuela, including rising
11 repression and violence against opposition members, and the collapsing economy where it
12 became impossible to obtain basic necessities, I was forced to flee Venezuela.

13 8. I was fortunate that a family member in Texas sponsored me for
14 humanitarian parole under the 2022 Parole Process for Venezuelans; and I was able to
15 enter the United States with parole in January 2023 through the Houston airport. I received
16 work authorization through my humanitarian parole, and I was able to get an IT job for a
17 company that works in energy and technology. I have worked there ever since. As the only
18 Spanish speaker in the office, I am the principal point of contact for the company's offices
19 in Latin America, and they depend on me to maintain communication and collaboration
20 with these offices. I learned basic English growing up, but since coming to the United
21 States I have worked hard to achieve English proficiency. My company was so happy with
22 my performance that they offered to sponsor me for an H1B visa. That application remains
23 pending, however.

24 9. I have filed my tax return each year I have lived in the United States.

25 10. I worry a lot for my family that remains in Venezuela, especially my parents,
26 who have chronic health conditions that require daily medication. Given the state of
27 economic and political collapse in Venezuela, I am their sole source of economic support.

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Impact of TPS

11. When Venezuela was designated for TPS in 2023, I was incredibly relieved. I knew my humanitarian parole would expire in January 2025 and so I applied for TPS as soon as I was able. With TPS, I felt more secure in my ability to build a life for myself. I bought a car, a necessity to get around in Texas where I live. I initially received my driver's license in Texas with my humanitarian parole status, and I was able to renew my driver's license through April 2025 with my TPS.

12. On January 17, 2025, the government announced the extension of TPS for Venezuela, and that same day I submitted my renewal application. I received a receipt that confirmed my work authorization was automatically extended for 540 days, which I submitted to my employers so that I could continue working for my employer. With that reassurance, I renewed my lease on my home.

13. I have many other family members in Texas, including an aunt and uncle with lawful permanent residence, and several cousins with TPS. We are very close and spend every weekend together, whether to host a barbeque, dance, or just hangout. Like me, my other family members with TPS have made a life for themselves here. For example, my cousin Eduardo works at a hospital. Since moving to the United States in 2021 with his wife and young daughter, his family has continued to grow. His two youngest children, now 3 and 1.5 years old, were born in Texas and are U.S. citizens. For his 7-year-old daughter, who also has TPS, this is the only country she remembers. Eduardo is also a member of NTPSA.

Impact of Rescission of TPS Extension and TPS Termination

14. If TPS is cancelled, I will lose my sole legal authorization to remain in the United States.

15. I will lose my job. I worry I will also lose the possibility of my H1B visa because I understand I would no longer be eligible if I lose status and if I lose my work authorization.

16. Without my job, I would not be able to pay for my basic needs. I would

1 literally be left without a place to live. Without TPS, I would not be able to work and
2 therefore could not afford housing.

3 17. I would also lose my driver's license, which would mean that I could not
4 drive legally. I depend on my drivers license to get to work, and to travel anywhere, as
5 there is not significant access to public transportation where I live. If I drove without a
6 license, I fear that I could be arrested if stopped by law enforcement, and then turned over
7 to ICE and deported.

8 18. I recently applied for asylum with USCIS, but understand that asylum
9 applications can take years to adjudicate. I only applied in early February, after the DHS
10 Secretary's decision to terminate TPS for Venezuela. I must wait 180 days after the
11 application to be able to apply for a work permit through my pending asylum case, so I
12 would still be left without work authorization or any protection against deportation if TPS
13 ends in April.

14 19. My family in Venezuela is also impacted by the announcement to end TPS.
15 They fear both for my safety as well as for their ability to survive, since I won't be able to
16 provide them life-saving financial support as I do now, if I lose my job.

17 20. For my other family members here who rely on TPS, they also feel this
18 despair, and are in an impossible situation. I feel especially badly for my cousin Eduardo
19 and his family. Eduardo and his wife are also protected under the 2023 designation of TPS
20 for Venezuela. They don't know what they will do if the termination takes effect on April
21 7. Like me, they cannot return to Venezuela. It is not safe for them, and the country is in a
22 state of crisis. But even if they could safely leave, their passports are expired. And their
23 children are so young—aged 7, 3 and 1. For the younger two, they have never known
24 Venezuela, and they are U.S. citizens. The older one has no memory of Venezuela as she
25 left when she was one years old. They do not know if they would be forced to leave, or if
26 they would have to make a difficult decision to have some family members leave while
27 others remain. No child should have to worry about whether their family will be able to
28 stay together, or have a home to live in.

1 21. Since the announcement to end TPS, I feel an anxiety that increases every
2 day that passes; every time I look at the calendar, turn on the news or open social media. I
3 see videos of raids and I feel that that I could be next if TPS ends.

4 22. I don't know how I would survive here, but I cannot return to Venezuela.
5 Opposition members like me who return to Venezuela can face torture. I fear I would be
6 persecuted and deprived of my rights by the current Venezuelan government.

7 23. I want this protection to continue, because families like mine need TPS to
8 take care of our families and to contribute productively to the community. Because
9 conditions in Venezuela have not improved, and because the extension was already
10 announced, I expected that TPS would continue to be available. Unfortunately, it seems
11 that discrimination—this idea that all Venezuelans are criminals—is guiding decision-
12 making. This is very painful for me. I don't understand how a government's decisions can
13 be based on such a broad and unjustified characterization of an entire people.

14 24. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and
15 that this declaration was executed at Plano, Texas, on February 18, 2025.

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17 /s/ Freddy Jose Arape Rivas

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19 Freddy Jose Arape Rivas
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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

I hereby attest that I have on file all holographic signatures corresponding to any signatures indicated by a conformed signature (/S/) within this e-filed document.

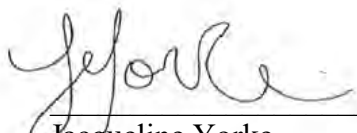
/s/ Emilou Maclean
Emilou Maclean



TRANSPERFECT


City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

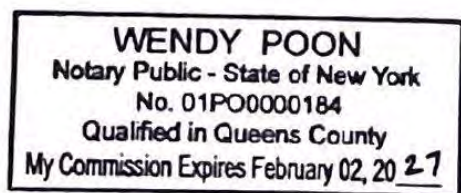
I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS**” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into Spanish (LA).



Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025



Signature, Notary Public

Stamp, Notary Public

DECLARACIÓN DE FREDDY JOSÉ ARAPE RIVAS

Yo, Freddy José Arape Rivas, declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración.

Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Soy ciudadano de Venezuela y beneficiario del Estatus de Protección Temporal (Temporary Protected Status, TPS). Tengo 33 años y vivo en Estados Unidos desde enero de 2023. El TPS es actualmente mi única forma de autorización de trabajo y protección migratoria. Me inscribí en el TPS de conformidad con la designación de 2023 del TPS para Venezuela. Como resultado de la decisión de la secretaria del Departamento de Seguridad Nacional, Kristi Noem, de poner fin al TPS para Venezuela, mi autorización de empleo expirará el 2 de abril de 2025 y mi estatus legal expirará el 7 de abril de 2025.

3. También soy miembro de la Alianza Nacional del TPS (National TPS Alliance, NTPSA). Me uní voluntariamente, porque creo en la misión de la NTPSA de defender el programa TPS. Recientemente participé en una reunión virtual de la NTPSA sobre la terminación del TPS para Venezuela, y he hablado con Orlando Zepeda, un miembro de la NTPSA que también fue demandante en la demanda Ramos, que impugnó las anteriores terminaciones del TPS durante la primera administración Trump, sobre la defensa del TPS para Venezuela.

4. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que mi familia y yo hemos sufrido desde el anuncio de la terminación de la extensión del TPS para Venezuela y el daño que mi familia y yo sufriremos si se permite que la terminación del TPS de Venezuela de 2023 tenga lugar el 7 de abril de 2025.

Antecedentes

5. Nací y crecí en Cabimas, Venezuela. Estudié informática en la universidad y me gradué en 2013. Trabajé en el sector privado para compañías tecnológicas hasta que me vi obligado a dejar el país debido al empeoramiento de las condiciones económicas, la represión y el aumento de la violencia.

6. Vengo de una familia de fieles practicantes de la democracia, siempre

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1 presente en las luchas políticas. Mis padres fueron algunos de los despedidos de la
2 industria petrolera en 2002 de forma arbitraria por Hugo Chávez, lo que nos convirtió en
3 una de las primeras víctimas de la flagrante violación de los derechos humanos por parte
4 de su régimen totalitario. Mis padres tuvieron problemas para encontrar empleo después de
5 eso. Creo que fueron incluidos en la lista negra debido a la oposición abierta de nuestra
6 familia a Chávez. Otro miembro de la familia era el alcalde de nuestra ciudad y un
7 importante líder del partido de la oposición. Mis padres trabajaban para él. Finalmente, se
8 vio obligado a exiliarse. Todas estas experiencias me llevaron a participar, cuando era
9 joven, en los procesos de transformación de mi país, basados en las ideas de libertad.
10 Participé en el partido de la oposición liderado por el candidato presidencial Henrique
11 Capriles. Asistí a muchas protestas y participé en campañas políticas.

12 7. Desafortunadamente, debido al empeoramiento de las condiciones en
13 Venezuela, incluyendo el aumento de la represión y la violencia contra los miembros de la
14 oposición, y el colapso de la economía, donde se hizo imposible obtener las necesidades
15 básicas, me vi obligado a huir de Venezuela.

16 8. Tuve la suerte de que un miembro de mi familia en Texas me patrocinara
17 para obtener un permiso humanitario en virtud del Proceso de Permiso Humanitario para
18 Venezolanos de 2022; y pude entrar en Estados Unidos con permiso humanitario en enero
19 de 2023 a través del aeropuerto de Houston. Recibí autorización de trabajo a través de mi
20 permiso humanitario, y pude conseguir un trabajo de informática para una compañía que
21 trabaja en energía y tecnología. He trabajado allí desde entonces. Como soy el único
22 hispanohablante de la oficina, soy el principal punto de contacto para las oficinas de la
23 compañía en América Latina, y ellos dependen de mí para mantener la comunicación y la
24 colaboración con estas oficinas. Aprendí inglés básico cuando era niño, pero desde que
25 llegué a Estados Unidos he trabajado duro para dominarlo. Mi compañía estaba tan
26 contenta con mi rendimiento que se ofreció a patrocinarme para un visado H1B. Sin
27 embargo, esa solicitud sigue pendiente.

28 9. He presentado mi declaración de impuestos cada año que he vivido en

1 Estados Unidos.

2 10. Me preocupo mucho por mi familia que permanece en Venezuela,
3 especialmente por mis padres, que tienen enfermedades crónicas que requieren medicación
4 diaria. Dado el estado de colapso económico y político de Venezuela, soy su única fuente
5 de apoyo económico.

7 **Impacto del TPS**

8 11. Cuando Venezuela fue designada para el TPS en 2023, me sentí
9 increíblemente aliviado. Sabía que mi permiso humanitario expiraría en enero de 2025, así
10 que solicité el TPS tan pronto como pude. Con el TPS, me sentí más seguro de mi
11 capacidad para construir una vida por mí mismo. Compré un coche, una necesidad para
12 moverme por Texas, donde vivo. Inicialmente recibí mi licencia de conducir en Texas con
13 mi estatus de permiso humanitario, y pude renovar mi licencia de conducir hasta abril de
14 2025 con mi TPS.

15 12. El 17 de enero de 2025, el gobierno anunció la extensión del TPS para
16 Venezuela, y ese mismo día presenté mi solicitud de renovación. Recibí un recibo que
17 confirmaba que mi autorización de trabajo se había prorrogado automáticamente por 540
18 días, que presenté a mis empleadores para poder seguir trabajando para ellos. Con esa
19 tranquilidad, renové el contrato de alquiler de mi casa.

20 13. Tengo muchos otros familiares en Texas, entre ellos una tía y un tío con
21 residencia permanente legal y varios primos con TPS. Estamos muy unidos y pasamos
22 todos los fines de semana juntos, ya sea para hacer una barbacoa, bailar o simplemente
23 pasar el rato. Al igual que yo, los demás miembros de mi familia con TPS se han hecho
24 una vida aquí. Por ejemplo, mi primo Eduardo trabaja en un hospital. Desde que se mudó a
25 Estados Unidos en 2021 con su esposa y su hija pequeña, su familia no ha dejado de
26 crecer. Sus dos hijos menores, que ahora tienen 3 y 1,5 años, nacieron en Texas y son
27 ciudadanos estadounidenses. Para su hija de 7 años, que también tiene TPS, este es el
28 único país que recuerda. Eduardo también es miembro de NTPSA.

Impacto de la rescisión de la extensión del TPS y la terminación del TPS

14. Si se cancela el TPS, perderé mi única autorización legal para permanecer en los Estados Unidos.

15. Perderé mi trabajo. Me preocupa que también perderé la posibilidad de obtener mi visa H1B porque entiendo que dejaré de ser elegible si pierdo el estatus y si pierdo mi autorización de trabajo.

16. Sin mi trabajo, no podría pagar mis necesidades básicas. Literalmente me quedaría sin un lugar para vivir. Sin el TPS, no podría trabajar y, por lo tanto, no podría pagar una vivienda.

17. También perdería mi licencia de conducir, lo que significaría que no podría conducir legalmente. Dependo de mi licencia de conducir para ir al trabajo y viajar a cualquier lugar, ya que no hay un acceso significativo al transporte público donde vivo. Si condujera sin licencia, me temo que podrían arrestarme si me detuviera la policía, y luego me entregarían al ICE y me deportarían.

18. Recientemente solicité asilo en el USCIS, pero entiendo que las solicitudes de asilo pueden tardar años en resolverse. Solo presenté la solicitud a principios de febrero, después de la decisión del secretario del DHS de poner fin al TPS para Venezuela. Debo esperar 180 días después de la solicitud para poder solicitar un permiso de trabajo a través de mi caso de asilo pendiente, por lo que seguiría sin autorización de trabajo ni protección contra la deportación si el TPS finaliza en abril.

19. Mi familia en Venezuela también se ve afectada por el anuncio de la finalización del TPS. Temen tanto por mi seguridad como por su capacidad de sobrevivir, ya que no podré proporcionarles el apoyo financiero que les salva la vida como lo hago ahora, si pierdo mi trabajo.

20. Los demás miembros de mi familia aquí que dependen del TPS también sienten esta desesperación y se encuentran en una situación imposible. Me siento especialmente mal por mi primo Eduardo y su familia. Eduardo y su esposa también están protegidos por la designación de TPS para Venezuela hasta 2023. No saben qué harán si la

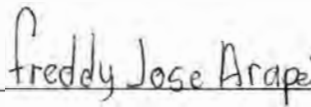
1 terminación entra en vigor el 7 de abril. Como yo, no pueden regresar a Venezuela. No es
2 seguro para ellos, y el país está en crisis. Pero incluso si pudieran irse con seguridad, sus
3 pasaportes están caducados. Y sus hijos son muy pequeños: 7, 3 y 1 años. Los dos más
4 pequeños nunca han conocido Venezuela y son ciudadanos estadounidenses. La mayor no
5 tiene recuerdos de Venezuela porque se fue cuando tenía un año. No saben si se verán
6 obligados a irse o si tendrán que tomar la difícil decisión de que algunos miembros de la
7 familia se vayan mientras otros se quedan. Ningún niño debería tener que preocuparse por
8 si su familia podrá permanecer unida o tener un hogar donde vivir.

9 21. Desde el anuncio del fin del TPS, siento una ansiedad que aumenta cada día
10 que pasa; cada vez que miro el calendario, enciendo las noticias o abro las redes sociales.
11 Veo videos de redadas y siento que yo podría ser el siguiente si el TPS termina.

12 22. No sé cómo sobreviviría aquí, pero no puedo regresar a Venezuela. Los
13 miembros de la oposición como yo que regresan a Venezuela pueden sufrir torturas. Temo
14 que el actual gobierno venezolano me persiga y me prive de mis derechos.

15 23. Quiero que esta protección continúe, porque familias como la mía necesitan
16 el TPS para cuidar de nuestras familias y contribuir productivamente a la comunidad.
17 Como las condiciones en Venezuela no han mejorado, y como la prórroga ya estaba
18 anunciada, esperaba que el TPS siguiera estando disponible. Desafortunadamente, parece
19 que la discriminación, esta idea de que todos los venezolanos son delincuentes, está
20 guiando la toma de decisiones. Esto es muy doloroso para mí. No entiendo cómo las
21 decisiones de un gobierno pueden basarse en una caracterización tan amplia e injustificada
22 de todo un pueblo.

23 24. Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que
24 esta declaración se firmó en Plano, Texas, el 19 de febrero de 2025.

25
26 
27 Freddy José Arape Rivas
28

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF ADELYS FERRO IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO
POSTPONE EFFECTIVE DATE OF
AGENCY ACTION**

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DECLARATION OF ADELYS FERRO

I, Adelys Ferro, hereby declare:

1. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

2. I am Venezuelan-American, and have lived in the United States for almost 17 years. I am a co-founder and the Executive Director of the Venezuelan American Caucus, which is part of a coalition of organizations and Venezuelan leaders working together to advocate for benefits for Venezuelans in the United States.

3. I provide this declaration to offer my expertise about the makeup of Venezuelan Temporary Protected Status (TPS) holders in the United States, and the impact of the termination of TPS on them, their families, and their communities.

Venezuelan American Caucus

4. The Venezuelan American Caucus is a project incubated by Latino Victory Project (a 501(c)(4)) and is a grassroots organization dedicated to building an infrastructure of active and informed Venezuelan-Americans with the purpose of ensuring our participation and commitment in the creation and implementation of U.S. domestic and foreign policies. Since its foundation on December 3, 2021, the Venezuelan American Caucus has brought the concerns of the Venezuelan community directly to the U.S. government at all levels—to the White House, legislature, and elected officials and government authorities at national and local levels, all over the country.

5. We have no membership requirement, and our activities and events are open for all to participate. People can register on our website, but registration is not required for individuals to volunteer with us or participate in our community events. We share information about activities, events, and developments in the community to all those who register on our website, follow us on social media, or contact us in other ways.

6. Along with leaders and organizations from the Latino and Venezuelan communities, we have successfully advocated for the designation of TPS by President Biden in March 2021, the renewal of TPS in 2022, humanitarian parole for Venezuelans in October 2022, the re-designation of TPS in September 2023, and the January 2025 TPS extension. These efforts have together benefitted over 700,000 Venezuelans in the United States.

1 7. Our organization has always placed special emphasis on securing TPS, because
2 although it is a temporary benefit, it provides protection to hundreds of thousands of Venezuelans
3 who would otherwise be forced to return to the country from which they fled, escaping one of the
4 greatest political and humanitarian crises our hemisphere has ever experienced. This crisis continues
5 to provoke one of the largest human exoduses in history.

6 8. From my personal experience and as Executive Director of the Venezuelan American
7 Caucus, I have met hundreds, if not thousands, of Venezuelan TPS beneficiaries. I meet TPS
8 beneficiaries in various ways, including holiday events we organize, and either virtual or in-person
9 events which may include democracy fora, events to provide immigration information, or social and
10 community events.

11 9. Some Venezuelan TPS holders have lived in the United States for many years, but
12 most arrived in the United States after 2017, as a result of the ongoing political, economic, and
13 humanitarian crises in Venezuela. In this period, there has been a mass exodus of Venezuelans due
14 to the country's political instability, particularly under the leadership of Nicolás Maduro, which has
15 led to widespread shortages of food, medicine, and essential goods, making life increasingly difficult
16 for millions of Venezuelans. Additionally, there has been significant government repression and
17 human rights violations, pushing many to flee. The deteriorating situation, including violence, a
18 collapsing economy, and the lack of basic services, has driven a large number of Venezuelans to
19 seek refuge in other countries, with the United States being a major destination. TPS has been a
20 lifeline for these Venezuelans—providing them a secure albeit temporary legal status during a period
21 when they cannot safely return to Venezuela because of the continuing political, economic and
22 humanitarian crisis; and granting them work authorization to be able to support themselves and their
23 families while here.

24 10. TPS has also been invaluable for local jurisdictions which have struggled with the
25 influx of Venezuelans due to the crisis in the country. As a result of TPS, Venezuelans have been
26 able to find work to support themselves rather than relying on public benefits and private handouts,
27 as many had to do when they initially arrived. TPS has also enabled Venezuelans to do essential
28 work in the public good, including for instance in the health, education, agricultural, construction,

1 manufacturing, and other sectors. Venezuelans with legal status are also more willing to engage with
2 public officials, including law enforcement, than those who do not have legal status; TPS thus has a
3 public safety benefit. For these reasons, many local governments joined our advocacy efforts for the
4 designation and re-designation of TPS for Venezuela.

5 11. Venezuelan TPS holders have varied backgrounds and experiences. While the largest
6 Venezuelan TPS populations are in Florida, New York and Texas, there are TPS holders across the
7 country. Through my work, I am personally in communication with Venezuelan TPS holders in
8 various other states, including Alabama, California, Kansas, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, North
9 Carolina, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Kentucky, Colorado, Maryland, and New Jersey, among other
10 places. Venezuelan TPS holders have diverse backgrounds—some with postgraduate education left
11 elite professions in Venezuela, others fled grinding poverty. In the United States, TPS holders work
12 in frontline jobs, hospitality, delivery, customer service, retail, restaurants, transportation,
13 construction, factories, and manufacturing, among many other professional fields.

14 12. Many Venezuelan TPS holders have more than one job, pay their taxes, and take
15 pride in doing everything right and legally. They play a fundamental role in the economic
16 development of the communities in which they live.

17 13. Since the decisions by Secretary Kristi Noem to vacate the January 2025 extension of
18 TPS, and then to terminate TPS for those benefiting from the 2023 designation, I have spoken with
19 countless Venezuelan TPS holders who are facing serious harm from the threatened end of their
20 legal status. The stories of Venezuelan TPS holders are as varied as they are moving: small business
21 owners unsure whether to sell their businesses or close their doors; employees who will lose their
22 employment authorization, and their livelihood, in a matter of weeks; students fearful of the loss of
23 financial aid which guarantees their ability to pursue their education; individuals terrified that they
24 will be deported without this essential legal status, and trying to determine whether to stay or flee to
25 avoid this outcome; business owners with employees unsure whether to lay them off in preparation
26 for closure; Venezuelans who have taken out significant loans from banks to start businesses or buy
27 homes and properties, now unable to sleep at night, wondering what to do and how to resolve these
28 matters; and Venezuelans who honestly know they have no grounds to apply for political asylum,

1 and who, wanting to do things the right way, have turned to TPS while they wait for a real solution
2 to the political and humanitarian crisis caused by the dictatorship of Nicolas Maduro, especially after
3 the largest electoral fraud ever perpetrated in the region in July 2024.

4 14. Venezuelans with TPS include families who fear being separated because some of
5 their young children are U.S. citizens born here. On the other side, Venezuelans whose families were
6 able to reunite thanks to this benefit now suffer immensely at the thought of another separation.

7 15. Many Venezuelan TPS beneficiaries do not consider staying in the United States
8 without documents as an option, but nor do they consider the possibility of returning to Venezuela
9 under a repressive and criminal dictatorship. As a result, many of them are suffering from anxiety
10 attacks, panic attacks, depressive crises, and serious health issues caused by the stress and
11 uncertainty they have been living with since the threats to eliminate the benefit began, which have
12 only worsened with the confirmation of the decision.

13 16. There have not been regularized diplomatic relations between the United States and
14 Venezuela since January 23, 2019. There is no Venezuelan consular office in the United States, and
15 so no way to either get or renew a passport. Therefore, there are many Venezuelan nationals in the
16 United States who lack the necessary documentation to either voluntarily return to Venezuela or
17 travel to a safe third country.

18 17. When it comes to the Venezuelan community, TPS has served exactly its intended
19 purpose—allowing people who desperately need a lifeline to live in democracy, freedom, and peace,
20 while helping grow local economies and support themselves and their families, during a period of
21 time where it is unsafe to safely return to a country in crisis.

22 18. It has caused tremendous pain in the Venezuelan community, and for myself
23 personally, to see the Venezuelan community labeled as criminals by the highest levels of the U.S.
24 government. Labeling all Venezuelans with TPS as criminals is having significant and harmful
25 consequences, both for the individuals involved and for the broader community. It has also led to
26 widespread social stigmatization, resulting in individuals facing prejudice, harassment, and
27 discrimination, not only from people outside their community but also within the immigrant
28 community itself. I have seen firsthand the significant mental and emotional impact of being labeled

1 as criminals for many Venezuelans with TPS. I have seen severe psychological stress and anxiety. I
2 have seen people fearful of taking their children to school, of going to work; and people signing
3 documents with notaries to make sure their children will be taken care of if they are detained. We
4 Venezuelans escaped our home country to escape violence, political persecution and economic
5 hardship. Because of that, TPS holders are already grappling with the trauma of their past
6 experiences, and this additional labeling by the U.S. government only worsens their mental health
7 struggles. I have also seen that the false association of TPS holders with criminality also heightens
8 the fear TPS holders have of deportation and separation from their families.

9 19. This has been particularly painful, and surprising, when used as a justification for the
10 termination of TPS. Anything but the slightest criminal conviction renders an individual ineligible
11 for TPS. The overwhelming majority of Venezuelan TPS holders have had no interaction with law
12 enforcement at all.

13 20. In contrast, from having been part of the Venezuelan immigrant community during
14 this crisis, what I have seen is a community that has shown extraordinary resilience and adaptability
15 its members have learned from having faced significant political, economic, and social turmoil in
16 Venezuela. Those skills have benefitted their local communities, as Venezuelans with TPS often
17 engage in local activities, volunteering, and giving back to their communities. Their background has
18 also inspired many Venezuelan TPS holders to work hard, innovate, and contribute positively to
19 their new home. They have helped care for elderly parents and children, creating strong, supportive
20 environments in cities where immigrant populations thrive.

21 21. In sum, Venezuelans with TPS bring a wealth of skills that help strengthen U.S.
22 communities both economically and culturally, making them indispensable contributors to the
23 country's growth and diversity. Venezuelans have relied on TPS as an essential lifeline when they
24 cannot safely return to Venezuela in the midst of a protracted crisis which has resulted in the exodus
25 of one-third of the country's population. The termination of TPS for this population stands to worsen
26 the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela; harm the communities in which TPS holders reside; and
27 devastate the individuals and families who rely on this essential protection.

28 I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

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Executed this 19th day of February, 2025, in Los Angeles, California.

Adelys Ferro

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Adelys Ferro', is written over a horizontal line.

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
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HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA VIVAS
CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF E.R. IN SUPPORT
OF PLAINTIFF' MOTION TO
POSTPONE EFFECTIVE DATE OF
AGENCY ACTION**

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1 **DECLARATION OF E.R.**

2 I, E.R., declare:

3 1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called
4 upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

5 2. I am a citizen of Venezuela living in the United States with Temporary
6 Protected Status (TPS). I live with my twelve-year-old daughter, who also has TPS. We
7 arrived in the United States in May 2023, and registered for TPS under the 2023 TPS
8 designation of Venezuela. As a result of the decision by the Department of Homeland
9 Security to terminate TPS for Venezuela, my employment authorization is set to expire on
10 April 2, 2025, and TPS for my daughter and myself will expire on April 7, 2025. TPS is
11 our only form of immigration protection, and is the only source for my employment
12 authorization.

13 3. I am also a member of the National TPS Alliance (NTPSA). I joined
14 voluntarily, because I agree with the NTPSA's mission of defending the TPS program.

15 4. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm my daughter and I have
16 suffered since the announcement of the rescission of the TPS extension for Venezuela and
17 the harm we will suffer if the protection is terminated in April.

18 **Background**

19 5. I was born and raised in Maracay, Venezuela. I graduated college in 2013
20 with a degree in administration. My daughter was born in 2012 and, after graduating, I
21 raised my daughter while working for a company that made baby products and later a
22 company that sold lottery tickets.

23 6. I became an adult during a tumultuous time in Venezuela. I did not support
24 the Maduro regime and I participated in protests against his regime. Around the time I
25 graduated, I was the victim of a brutal robbery in front of my home. I was with a friend
26 who had a car and the robbers beat us up, took my friend's car, and threatened us. A few
27 days later graffiti appeared next to my home, warning that things would get worse if we
28 didn't stop protesting the government. I didn't feel safe staying in my home and I moved

1 to live with my grandmother after that.

2 7. In approximately 2015 I went back to school to complete a masters degree in
3 administration. Unfortunately, I was unable to complete my degree as the political and
4 economic situation in Venezuela worsened. There were constant protests; public transit
5 was regularly shut down, making it difficult to get to class; and it became increasingly
6 unsafe to be out in public.

7 8. I struggled to find employment, though I applied to many jobs for which I
8 was qualified. I felt that I may have been blacklisted for not supporting the Maduro regime
9 and for participating in protests. I did my best to care for myself and my daughter by
10 selling food and other essential goods informally here and there, but survival was always a
11 struggle.

12 9. As the situation continued to worsen in Venezuela and it became
13 increasingly difficult to survive and provide for my growing daughter, we fled Venezuela.

14 10. In 2023, we presented ourselves to border officials to seek asylum in the
15 United States. After a few days we were released with an ICE check-in date, and travelled
16 to New York, where we have lived ever since.

17 **Impact of TPS**

18 11. In the fall of 2023, I learned that Venezuela had been designated for TPS. I
19 applied as soon as I could for myself and my daughter, and we were approved in early
20 2024.

21 12. I had an immigration court case, but at my first hearing in June 2024, the
22 judge dismissed the case because I had been granted TPS.

23 13. With my TPS work authorization, I was able to get a steady job at a local
24 factory that makes makeup cases. I bought a car to be able to get to work and take my
25 daughter to school. I work the night shift which allows me to take my daughter to school
26 and pick her up afterwards.

27 14. I have paid my taxes each year that I've worked in the United States. My
28 TPS and work authorization allow me to provide for my daughter and not have to rely on

1 assistance or be destitute.

2 **Harm of TPS Extension Rescission and Termination**

3 15. It makes me very anxious just to think about the possibility that our TPS will
4 end in April. I was so relieved in January when I learned that TPS had been extended for
5 another 18 months. While I know that TPS is temporary, I understood that Venezuela was
6 granted TPS because of the horrible conditions in Venezuela, and I thought that, so long as
7 the conditions did not improve, TPS would continue to be available. The conditions in
8 Venezuela have not improved, so it doesn't make any sense to me that TPS for Venezuela
9 has been terminated.

10 16. When we heard the announcement that the government was reversing the
11 extension decision, I was devastated. If I lose my protection through TPS, how would I
12 work? How would I live? How would I cover my daughter's basic needs? I feel torn
13 between a rock and a hard place.

14 17. I am raising my daughter alone. My daughter's father left us last year. He
15 mistreated us and caused us psychological harm. He has not supported me or our daughter
16 since that time, making my income the sole source of support for me and my daughter. If I
17 lost my work authorization, we would quickly lose our housing. I don't know where we
18 would live or how we would eat.

19 18. I have my next ICE check-in in June 2025 and I am afraid that I will be
20 detained at that time, if TPS is not extended. I don't want to go to the check-in alone
21 because I'm afraid they could deport me, leaving my daughter all alone. I am the sole
22 caretaker for my daughter and she relies on me for everything. I fear what would happen to
23 her. I don't have anyone here that I can rely on.

24 19. All of this has left my daughter very sad and discouraged. She is enrolled in
25 seventh grade here and was finally settling in. She has been through so much upheaval and
26 trauma to get here. Though she has struggled with learning a new language and new
27 culture, she now speaks English well and has begun to adjust to her school, making friends
28 and joining afterschool clubs. She dreams of being an artist when she grows up. She

1 worries now she will lose all the progress that she has made. At school, rumors spread
2 about how the Venezuelans are going to get deported. She feels isolated and anxious. She
3 is afraid every time she hears about a raid or an ICE arrest, that they will come for us next.
4 She cries and asks me what will happen to her if I am deported. She is afraid to leave the
5 house.

6 20. I don't know how we would survive here, under the constant threat of
7 deportation, without TPS. But thinking about going back to Venezuela also feels
8 impossible. Things have only gotten worse since we left. I fear for my life and especially
9 for my daughter's life. I worry we would face retaliation for not supporting the Maduro
10 regime. Having to go back to Venezuela now would rob my daughter of her future. In
11 Venezuela, the public schools are basically dysfunctional. The teachers are always on
12 strike so class is constantly cancelled. The private schools are extremely expensive.

13 21. My daughter's Venezuelan passport is expired and I understand there is no
14 way to renew the passport in the United States right now. I believe this could make it
15 difficult to return, even if we tried.

16 22. I also worry about being able to access my necessary medical care in
17 Venezuela. A few months ago, I had an accident. My hair got caught in a machine while it
18 was on. The injury was very serious. I had to get 20 staples in my head. I wasn't able to
19 stay in the hospital more than a day because I did not have health insurance and could not
20 afford the care. I have had chronic pain whenever I move my head ever since, and I receive
21 physical therapy twice a week to help manage the pain. I also take prescription painkillers
22 to help manage my symptoms. There is a surgery I need to reduce the pain, but I cannot
23 currently afford it. I hope to be able to save money and get the surgery with a payment
24 plan. In Venezuela, I would not have access to my medication, my physical therapy, or the
25 surgery I need.

26 23. I am a hardworking and law-abiding person. The conditions in Venezuela
27 forced my daughter and me to leave. All I want to do is to take care of my daughter and
28 contribute to my community. It hurts me to see that the government treats us like we are an

1 evil plague brought to the country. I think it's right to challenge this idea that all
2 Venezuelans are criminals. I believe those of us who are working hard and have never had
3 any problems should be allowed to continue to receive TPS protections.

4 **Need for Anonymity**

5 24. I am fearful that my participation in this lawsuit will put my family and me
6 at risk of retaliation from the United States and Venezuelan governments.

7 25. I am afraid that I will be targeted for speaking out about my experience and
8 for supporting this lawsuit challenging the U.S. government. I fear being prioritized for
9 immigration enforcement, since in a matter of weeks, my daughter and I will lose our TPS,
10 which is our only form of protection, we have an ICE check in soon after, and government
11 officials have made many comments about going after Venezuelans.

12 26. I am also afraid that if my name is made public in relation to this lawsuit,
13 that people would see it in Venezuela, and then if I am forced to go back to Venezuela it
14 would put me at higher risk. I would have a target on my back because of my public
15 participation in this lawsuit, both by the Venezuelan government for publicly expressing
16 my opposition to the Maduro regime, and by criminals who believe anyone coming from
17 the United States has money.

18 27. I want to be able to fully participate in this lawsuit in order to stand up for
19 myself, my daughter and others like us who need these protections.

20 28. For all of these reasons, I wish to be allowed to proceed anonymously.

21 29. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and
22 that this declaration was executed in New York, on February 19, 2025.

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24 /s/ E.R.

25 E.R.
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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

I hereby attest that I have on file all holographic signatures corresponding to any signatures indicated by a conformed signature (/S/) within this e-filed document.

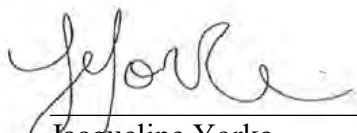
/s/ Emilou MacLean
Emilou MacLean




TRANSPERFECT

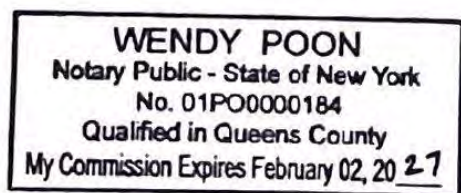
City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF E.R.**” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into Spanish (LA).


Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025


Signature, Notary Public



Stamp, Notary Public

DECLARACIÓN DE E.R.

Yo, E.R., declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración.

Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Soy ciudadana de Venezuela y vivo en Estados Unidos con Estatus de Protección Temporal (TPS). Vivo con mi hija de doce años, que también tiene TPS. Llegamos a Estados Unidos en mayo de 2023 y nos registramos para el TPS bajo la designación de TPS de Venezuela de 2023. Como resultado de la decisión del Departamento de Seguridad Nacional de poner fin al TPS para Venezuela, mi autorización de empleo expirará el 2 de abril de 2025, y el TPS para mi hija y para mí expirará el 7 de abril de 2025. El TPS es nuestra única forma de protección migratoria y es la única fuente de mi autorización de empleo.

3. También soy miembro de la Alianza Nacional del TPS (National TPS Alliance, NTPSA). Me uní voluntariamente porque estoy de acuerdo con la misión de la NTPSA de defender el programa del TPS.

4. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que mi hija y yo hemos sufrido desde el anuncio de la rescisión de la extensión del TPS para Venezuela y el daño que sufriremos si la protección finaliza en abril.

Antecedentes

5. Nací y crecí en Maracay, Venezuela. Me gradué de la universidad en 2013 con un título en administración. Mi hija nació en 2012 y, después de graduarme, la críe mientras trabajaba para una compañía que fabricaba productos para bebés y luego para una compañía que vendía boletos de lotería.

6. Me convertí en adulta durante una época tumultuosa en Venezuela. No apoyé al régimen de Maduro y participé en protestas en su contra. Por la época en que me gradué, fui víctima de un brutal robo frente a mi casa. Estaba con un amigo que tenía un coche y los ladrones nos golpearon, se llevaron el coche de mi amigo y nos amenazaron. Unos días después aparecieron pintadas junto a mi casa, advirtiendo que las cosas empeorarían si no dejábamos de protestar contra el gobierno. No me sentía segura en mi casa y me mudé a

ER0344

vivir con mi abuela después de eso.

1 7. Aproximadamente en 2015 volví a la escuela para completar una maestría en
2 administración. Desafortunadamente, no pude completar mi título ya que la situación
3 política y económica en Venezuela empeoró. Había protestas constantes; el transporte
4 público se cerraba regularmente, lo que dificultaba llegar a clase; y cada vez era más
5 inseguro salir en público.

6 8. Luché por encontrar empleo, aunque solicité muchos trabajos para los que
7 estaba cualificado. Sentí que podría haber sido incluido en una lista negra por no apoyar al
8 régimen de Maduro y por participar en protestas. Hice todo lo posible por cuidar de mí y
9 de mi hija vendiendo comida y otros bienes esenciales de manera informal aquí y allá, pero
10 sobrevivir siempre fue una lucha.

11 9. A medida que la situación en Venezuela seguía empeorando y se hacía cada
12 vez más difícil sobrevivir y mantener a mi pequeña hija, huimos de Venezuela.

13 10. En 2023, nos presentamos ante los funcionarios fronterizos para solicitar
14 asilo en Estados Unidos. Después de unos días, nos liberaron con una fecha de registro en
15 el ICE y viajamos a Nueva York, donde hemos vivido desde entonces.

Impacto del TPS

17 11. En otoño de 2023, me enteré de que Venezuela había sido designada para el
18 TPS. Solicité lo antes posible para mí y para mi hija, y nos aprobaron a principios de 2024.

19 12. Tuve un caso en el tribunal de inmigración, pero en mi primera audiencia en
20 junio de 2024, el juez desestimó el caso porque me habían concedido el TPS.

21 13. Con mi autorización de trabajo del TPS, pude conseguir un trabajo estable en
22 una fábrica local que fabrica estuches de maquillaje. Compré un coche para poder ir a
23 trabajar y llevar a mi hija al colegio. Trabajo en el turno de noche, lo que me permite llevar
24 a mi hija al colegio y recogerla después.

25 14. He remunerado mis impuestos cada año que he trabajado en los Estados
26 Unidos. Mi TPS y mi autorización de trabajo me permiten mantener a mi hija y no tener
27 que depender de la asistencia o estar en la indigencia.

Daño de la rescisión y terminación de la extensión del TPS

15. Me pongo muy nerviosa solo de pensar en la posibilidad de que nuestro TPS termine en abril. Me sentí muy aliviada en enero cuando me enteré de que el TPS se había prorrogado por otros 18 meses. Aunque sé que el TPS es temporal, entendí que a Venezuela se le concedió el TPS debido a las horribles condiciones en Venezuela, y pensé que, mientras las condiciones no mejoraran, el TPS seguiría estando disponible. Las condiciones en Venezuela no han mejorado, por lo que no tiene ningún sentido para mí que el TPS para Venezuela haya sido cancelado.

16. Cuando nos enteramos del anuncio de que el gobierno estaba revocando la decisión de prórroga, me quedé devastada. Si pierdo mi protección a través del TPS, ¿cómo trabajaré? ¿Cómo viviré? ¿Cómo cubriré las necesidades básicas de mi hija? Me siento entre la espada y la pared.

17. Estoy criando a mi hija sola. El padre de mi hija nos dejó el año pasado. Nos maltrató y nos causó daño psicológico. No nos ha mantenido a mi hija ni a mí desde entonces, por lo que mis ingresos son la única fuente de sustento para nosotras. Si perdiera mi autorización de trabajo, perderíamos rápidamente nuestra vivienda. No sé dónde viviríamos ni cómo comeríamos.

18. Tengo mi próxima cita con ICE en junio de 2025 y me temo que me detendrán en ese momento, si no se prorroga el TPS. No quiero ir solo a la cita porque tengo miedo de que me deporten, dejando a mi hija sola. Soy la única que cuida de mi hija y ella depende de mí para todo. Temo lo que le pueda pasar. No tengo a nadie aquí en quien pueda confiar.

19. Todo esto ha dejado a mi hija muy triste y desanimada. Está matriculada en séptimo grado aquí y por fin se estaba adaptando. Ha pasado por tantos trastornos y traumas para llegar hasta aquí. Aunque le ha costado aprender un nuevo idioma y una nueva cultura, ahora habla bien inglés y ha empezado a adaptarse a su escuela, haciendo amigos y uniéndose a clubes extraescolares. Sueña con ser artista cuando sea mayor. Le preocupa que ahora vaya a perder todos los progresos que ha hecho. En la escuela, se extienden rumores sobre cómo van a deportar a los venezolanos. Se siente aislada y ansiosa. Tiene miedo cada vez que oye hablar de una redada o de una detención de ICE, de

que ahora vengan por nosotros. Lloro y me pregunta qué pasará con ella si me deportan.

1 Tiene miedo de salir de casa.

2 20. No sé cómo sobreviviríamos aquí, bajo la amenaza constante de deportación,
3 sin el TPS. Pero pensar en volver a Venezuela también me parece imposible. Las cosas
4 solo han empeorado desde que nos fuimos. Temo por mi vida y especialmente por la vida
5 de mi hija. Me preocupa que suframos represalias por no apoyar al régimen de Maduro.
6 Tener que volver a Venezuela ahora le robaría el futuro a mi hija. En Venezuela, las
7 escuelas públicas son básicamente disfuncionales. Los maestros están siempre en huelga,
8 por lo que las clases se cancelan constantemente. Las escuelas privadas son
9 extremadamente caras.

10 21. El pasaporte venezolano de mi hija ha caducado y tengo entendido que no
11 hay forma de renovarlo en Estados Unidos en este momento. Creo que esto podría
12 dificultar el regreso, incluso si lo intentáramos.

13 22. También me preocupa poder acceder a la atención médica necesaria en
14 Venezuela. Hace unos meses, tuve un accidente. Mi cabello quedó atrapado en una
15 máquina mientras estaba encendida. La lesión fue muy grave. Tuve que ponerme 20 grapas
16 en la cabeza. No pude quedarme en el hospital más de un día porque no tenía seguro
17 médico y no podía pagar la atención. Desde entonces, tengo dolor crónico cada vez que
18 muevo la cabeza y recibo fisioterapia dos veces por semana para ayudar a controlar el
19 dolor. También tomo analgésicos recetados para ayudar a controlar mis síntomas. Necesito
20 una cirugía para reducir el dolor, pero actualmente no puedo pagarla. Espero poder ahorrar
21 dinero y someterme a la cirugía con un plan de pago. En Venezuela, no tendría acceso a mi
22 medicación, a mi fisioterapia ni a la cirugía que necesito.

23 23. Soy una persona trabajadora y respetuosa con la ley. Las condiciones en
24 Venezuela nos obligaron a mi hija y a mí a irnos. Todo lo que quiero hacer es cuidar de mi
25 hija y hacer una contribución a mi comunidad. Me duele ver que el gobierno nos trata
26 como si fuéramos una plaga maligna traída al país. Creo que es correcto cuestionar esta
27 idea de que todos los venezolanos somos criminales. Creo que a aquellos de nosotros que
28 trabajamos duro y nunca hemos tenido ningún problema se nos debería permitir seguir

recibiendo las protecciones del TPS.

Necesidad de anonimato

24. Temo que mi participación en esta demanda nos ponga a mi familia y a mí en riesgo de represalias por parte de los gobiernos de Estados Unidos y Venezuela.

25. Temo que me tomen como blanco por hablar sobre mi experiencia y por apoyar esta demanda que desafía al gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Temo que se me dé prioridad para la aplicación de la ley de inmigración, ya que en cuestión de semanas, mi hija y yo perderemos nuestro TPS, que es nuestra única forma de protección, tenemos una verificación de ICE poco después, y los funcionarios gubernamentales han hecho muchos comentarios sobre perseguir a los venezolanos.

26. También temo que si mi nombre se hace público en relación con esta demanda, la gente lo verá en Venezuela, y si me veo obligado a volver a Venezuela, correría un mayor riesgo. Tendría una diana en la espalda debido a mi participación pública en esta demanda, tanto por parte del gobierno venezolano por expresar públicamente mi oposición al régimen de Maduro, como por parte de delincuentes que creen que cualquiera que venga de Estados Unidos tiene dinero.

27. Quiero poder participar plenamente en esta demanda para defenderme a mí mismo, a mi hija y a otras personas como nosotros que necesitamos estas protecciones.

28. Por todas estas razones, deseo que se me permita proceder de forma anónima.

29. Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que esta declaración se firmó en Nueva York, el 19 de febrero de 2025.

E.R.

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF
DAVID CARD IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFF' MOTION TO
POSTPONE EFFECTIVE DATE OF
AGENCY ACTION**

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1 **EXPERT DECLARATION OF DAVID CARD**

2 1. I, David Card, am a Professor of the Graduate School and Class of 1950 Professor
3 Emeritus at the University of California Berkeley. If called to testify, I could and would do so as
4 follows:

5 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the economic impact of the potential
6 termination of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuela. I make this declaration based on my
7 personal and professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data
8 regularly relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes
9 available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will
10 advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate
11 judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own and I provided them *pro bono*.

12 **I. Professional Background and Qualifications**

13 3. I earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics from Queen's University in 1978 and
14 a Ph.D. in Economics from Princeton University in 1983. I was an Assistant Professor at the University
15 of Chicago Graduate School of Business from 1982 to 1983. From 1983 to 1997, I held positions as
16 Assistant Professor and Professor of Economics at Princeton University. From 1997 to 2023, I was
17 Class of 1950 Professor of Economics at University of California Berkeley. Since 2024 I have been a
18 Professor of the Graduate School and Class of 1950 Professor Emeritus at the University of California
19 Berkeley.

20 4. I have published over 140 articles and book chapters, co-authored two books, and co-
21 edited seven others, including two editions of the Handbook of Labor Economics. I served as co-editor
22 of the journal *Econometrica* from 1993 to 1997, and of the *American Economic Review* from 2002
23 to 2005. I served as the President of the American Economic Association in 2021.

24 5. I have received several awards and prizes for my research in labor economics, including
25 election as a Fellow of the National Academy of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,
26 the Econometric Society and the Society of Labor Economics. In 1995, I received the John Bates Clark
27 Prize, which was awarded by the American Economic Association to an outstanding economist under
28 the age of 40. In 2006 I was awarded the IZA Prize by the Institute for the Study of Labor in Bonn for

1 outstanding academic achievement in the field of labor economics. I was co-recipient of the 2015
2 BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in economics, and received the 2019 Jacob Mincer
3 Award from the Society of Labor Economists for my contributions to the field of Labor Economics.

4 6. In 2021, I was the recipient of one-half of the Nobel Prize for Economics (the Sveriges
5 Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel) for my “methodological
6 contributions to the analysis of causal relationships” in labor markets.

7 7. My research focuses on statistical analysis of labor markets and related data. Many of
8 my research studies focus specifically on issues related to immigration, including the effects of
9 immigrants on the labor market opportunities of natives, and analysis of the earnings outcomes of
10 immigrants in their host country.

11 8. Appendix A is a true and correct copy of my complete curriculum vitae.

12 **II. Summary of Conclusions**

13 9. Based on my understanding of the extensive economics literature on issues related to
14 immigration, and my analysis of data pertaining to the characteristics of people interviewed in the
15 2023 American Community Survey (ACS) who were born in Venezuela and moved to the United
16 States at some time in the past, I have reached a series of conclusions about the potential termination
17 of TPS for Venezuelans:

18 i) The estimated population affected by this potential action includes approximately
19 366,000 people from Venezuela who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023. In
20 calculating this number I have adjusted the population weights in the public use sample
21 of the 2023 ACS to reflect the revisions in the estimated counts of immigrants arriving
22 to the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 reported in a December 2024 memo by the U.S.
23 Census Bureau.¹ Focusing on this group alone, there were approximately 195,000
24 people age 16 and over who had earnings in the United States in the year before they
25 were interviewed in the ACS. Their average earnings were \$17,981 per person.

26 ¹ “Census Bureau Improves Methodology to Better Estimate Increase in Net International
27 Migration,” (Dec. 19, 2024), [https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/
28 random-samplings/2024/12/international-migration-population-estimates.html](https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2024/12/international-migration-population-estimates.html). I assume weights for
arrivals in 2021 are inflated by a factor of 1.3475, weights for arrivals in 2022 are inflated by a
factor of 1.856, and weights for arrivals in 2023 are inflated by a factor of 2.107.

1 **Termination of their TPS status would result in an estimated 3.5 billion dollar**
2 **annual loss to the U.S. economy, and an annual loss of 434.8 million dollars in**
3 **Social Security taxes.**

4
5 ii) In addition to the group of Venezuelans who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and
6 2023, there are approximately 320,000 additional Venezuelans who were present in the
7 U.S. in 2023 and arrived between 2013 (the year that Nicolás Maduro assumed power
8 in Venezuela) and 2020. This includes approximately 230,000 people age 16 and over
9 who had earnings in the United States in the year before they were interviewed in the
10 ACS. Their average earnings were \$37,161 per person. Assuming a fraction x of this
11 group would lose TPS status as a result of the proposed termination, there would be an
12 estimated $8.55x$ billion dollars annual loss to the U.S. economy, and an annual loss of
13 $1.06x$ billion dollars in Social Security taxes.

14
15 iii) The approximately 366,000 people who were born in Venezuela and arrived in the
16 U.S. between 2021 and 2023 are spread across the United States. The following table
17 shows the states where at least 3% of this group were living when they were
18 interviewed in the ACS, and the percent of the group living in each of these states:

19	Florida	34.7%
20	Texas	19.5%
21	New York	6.2%
22	Illinois	4.4%
23	Georgia	4.1%
24	Utah	3.7%
25	California	3.0%

26 This distribution implies that the economic losses associated with the termination of
27 TPS would be spread relatively widely across the United States.

1 iv) The level of education among the people who were born in Venezuela and arrived
2 in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 is relatively high. Using the conventional approach
3 of measuring completed education only for people who are at least 24 years of age, the
4 fraction who have a bachelor's degree or more is over 40%, slightly higher than the
5 36% rate among people age 24 or older interviewed in the 2023 ACS who were born
6 in the U.S. The fraction of Venezuelans who arrived between 2013 and 2020 with a
7 bachelor's degree or more is even higher at 54%. These relative levels of education
8 are important because in standard economic models the key factor that determines the
9 labor market impacts of an immigrant group is their education distribution relative to
10 the native-born population. (See e.g., Card, 2009 and Card, 2012). In a standard
11 economic model in which firms can adjust the amount of capital they use, if immigrants
12 have about the same education as natives then their arrival would not be expected to
13 have a permanent effect on the wages or employment rates of natives. In other words,
14 the set of Venezuelans currently granted TPS does not pose a significant threat to the
15 labor market opportunities of native workers.

16
17 v) When they first arrive in the host country, immigrants typically face barriers,
18 including language issues, lack of recognition of their skills and credentials, and
19 unfamiliarity with the host labor market that lead to some "downgrading" in the quality
20 of jobs they can obtain. (Dustmann et al., 2016). The economics literature contains
21 many studies documenting that over time these problems are largely resolved, leading
22 to a process referred to as "economic assimilation." (Chiswick, 1978; Duleep, 2015).
23 Comparisons between the earnings of Venezuelans who arrived at different times to
24 the U.S. suggests that the fraction who are working rises over the first 5 years in the
25 U.S., and their wage rate per hour of work also rises steadily. The rate of hourly wage
26 growth per year in the U.S. among Venezuelans who arrived between 2013 and 2020
27 is 3.8 percent per year. Assuming the same wage growth for those who arrived between
28 2021 and 2023, their earnings would rise approximately 45% over the next 10 years if

1 their TPS status was maintained, even ignoring any increase in the probability of
2 working. This means that the economic losses caused by the termination of TPS are
3 approximately 22.5%² larger than are calculated when we assume, as I did in paragraph
4 i. above, that Venezuelan TPS holders will have the same average earnings per year.

5
6 vi) Venezuelans who arrived in the U.S. between 2021 and 2023 and were age 16 or
7 older at the time of the ACS interview received an average of \$56.9 in public assistance
8 payments over the previous 12 months. On average, over 96% of their personal income
9 was attributable to their own earnings. Again, comparisons with the group of
10 Venezuelans who arrived somewhat earlier (2013-2020) suggest that the relatively
11 modest public assistance benefits they currently receive would fall further with more
12 time in the U.S., if TPS were not terminated.

13
14 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
15 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

16
17 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Berkeley, California.

18
19 /s/ 
20 David Card

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27
28 ² Earnings would grow steadily, and on average over all years the net effect of the growth is about one half of the final increase in wages (here, approximately 45%).

1 **References**

2 Card, David. 2009. "Immigration and Inequality." American Economic Review: Papers &
3 Proceedings 99 (2) (2009), pp. 1–21.

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6 Chiswick, Barry. 1978. "The effect of Americanization on the earnings of foreign-born men." J.
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8 Duleep, Harriet. 2015. "The adjustment of immigrants in the labor market." Chapter 3 in
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APPENDIX A

Curriculum Vita - David Card
November 2024

Business Address: Department of Economics
530 Evans Hall #3880
University of California Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720-3880
email: card@berkeley.edu

Citizenship: U.S. and Canada

Current Position: Professor of the Graduate School, UC Berkeley
Class of 1950 Professor Emeritus, UC Berkeley

Previous Positions: Assistant Professor of Business Economics
University of Chicago, 1982-83

Assistant Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 1983-87

Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 1987-1997

Class of 1950 Professor
UC Berkeley, 1997-2023

Visiting Professor of Economics
Columbia University, 1990-91

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in
Behavioral Sciences, 1996-97

Visiting Professor of Economics
Princeton University, 2000-2001

Visiting Professor of Economics
Harvard University, 2008

Director of Labor Studies Program
National Bureau of Economic Research, 2008-2017

Founding Director, Center for Labor Economics, UC Berkeley
1997-2022

Education: Queen's University (Kingston), B.A. 1978
Princeton University, Ph.D. 1983

Editorial Positions: Co-editor **American Economic Review**, 2002 - 2005.
Co-editor **Econometrica**, 1993-97
Associate Editor **Journal of Labor Economics** 1988-92

Editorial Boards: **Journal of Population Economics**, 2001-2021
AEJ: Applied Economics, 2007-2019
Quarterly Journal of Economics, 2008-2020

Awards and Prizes: Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics, 2021
Fellow, National Academy of Science, 2021
Research Award, National Institute for Health Care Management (for
2023 paper in **Am. Econ. Rev.** with David Chan and Lowell Taylor)
Douglas Purvis Memorial Prize, 2020 (also 1994)
J. K. Galbraith Award, American Association of Agricultural
Economists, 2019
Jacob Mincer Award, Society of Labor Economists, 2019
BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award, 2015
J.K. Galbraith Fellow, American Academy of Political
and Social Science, 2013
Frisch Medal, 2007 (for 2005 paper in **Econometrica** with D. Hyslop)
UC Berkeley Distinguished Service Award, 2007
IZA Prize in Labor Economics, 2006
Fellow, Society of Labor Economics, 2004
John Bates Clark Prize, American Economic Assoc., 1995
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998
Fellow of the Econometric Society, 1992
Prince of Wales Prize, Queen's University, 1978

Honorary Degrees: Honorary Doctorate, Ruhr University Bochum Germany, 2022
Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Montreal, 2019
Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Ottawa, 2017
Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) University of Guelph, 2015
Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa) Queen's University (Kingston), 1999

Selected Lectures: Inaugural Lecture, Pompeu Fabra University, October 2024.
Alumni Lecture, College of Mexico, August 2024
Inaugural Lecture, Collegio Carlo Alberto, November 2022.
American Economic Association Presidential Address, January 2022.
Martin Meyerson Lecture, UC Berkeley, February 2020
Frank Anton Inaugural Distinguished Lecture, University of Calgary, 2017
Henry George Lecture, University of Scranton, 2016
Condliffe Lecture, University of Canterbury, June 2014
Arrow Lectures, Stanford University, May 2013
Lampman Lecture, University of Wisconsin Madison, May 2013

Woytinsky Lecture, University of Michigan, March 2012.
Snyder Lecture, UC Santa Barbara, April 2011.
Ely Lecture, American Economic Association, January 2009
Woodward Lecturer, University British Columbia, March 2008.
Dennis Sargan Lecture to Royal Economic Society, 2006.
Adam Smith Lecture to European Labor Economics Association, 2006.
Fisher-Schultz Lecture to Econometric Society, 2002.
Alfred Marshall Lecture, Cambridge University, 2000.

Advisory Boards: National Academy of Science Committee on Nat. Statistics (2012-2015)
“What Works Clearinghouse” Expert Panel Review (Chair),
US Department of Education, October 2008.
AEA Representative to US Census Advisory Committee, 1991-96
Statistics Canada Advisory Committee, 1990-2002
Advisory Council, ICPSR, 1994-96.
Joint Center for Poverty Research, 1997-99
National Research Council Institute of Medicine Board on
Children, Youth and Families, 1998-2001.
RWI – Essen Advisory Board, 2005-2011.
Comitato Scientifico Labor, Laboratorio R. Revelli, 2006-2009.

Selected Review Panels and Assignments: National Institute of Health, Social Sciences, Nursing,
Epidemiology, and Methods (SNEM) Review Panel, 1998-2003
Russell Sage Foundation Immigration Advisory Committee, 1999- 2001.
Government of Spain Severo Ochoa Program (2014)

Professional Societies: President of American Economic Association for 2021
President of Western Economics Association for 2015/2016
Vice President of American Economic Association for 2014
President of Society of Labor Economics for 2010/11
Elected member of the Council, Econometric Society, 2007-2012

Books:

(co-authored with Alan B. Krueger) *Myth and Measurement: The New Economics of the Minimum Wage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. Second Edition 2016. Spanish and Chinese editions 2022.

(co-authored with Alan B. Krueger; edited by Randall Akee and Klaus Zimmerman). *Wages, School Quality, and Employment Demand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

(co-edited with Steven Raphael). *Immigration, Poverty, and Socioeconomic Inequality*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013.

(co-edited with Orley Ashenfelter) *Handbook of Labor Economics* (volumes 4a-4b). Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2011.

(co-edited with Orley Ashenfelter) *Handbook of Labor Economics* Volumes 3a-3c. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1999.

co-edited with Alan Auerbach and John Quigley). *Poverty, the Distribution of Income, and Public Policy*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006.

(co-edited with Richard Blundell and Richard B. Freeman) *Seeking a Premier Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press for NBER, 2004.

(co-edited with Rebecca M. Blank) *Finding Work: Jobs and Welfare Reform*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000.

(co-edited with Richard B. Freeman). *Small Differences that Matter: Labor Markets and Income Maintenance in Canada and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Edited Journal Issues

Labor Markets in Developing Economies. Journal of Labor Economics 15 (Supplement 3) July 1997. (co-edited with Ann Harrison).

Labor Markets in the Aftermath of the Great Recession. Journal of Labor Economics 34 (Supplement 1) January 2016. (co-edited with Alexandre Mas).

Essays in Honor of Robert J. Lalonde. Journal of Labor Economics 34 (Supplement 1) January 2017. (co-edited with Orley Ashenfelter).

Youth Labor Markets. Journal of Labor Economics 37 (Supplement 1) January 2019.

Small Differences II: Public Policies in Canada and the United States. Journal of Labor Economics 37 (Supplement 2) July 2019. (co-edited with Philip Oreopoulos).

Essays in Honor of John E. DiNardo. Journal of Labor Economics 39 (Supplement 2) July 2021. (co-edited with David Lee and Thomas Lemieux).

Essays in Honor of Alan B. Krueger. Journal of Labor Economics 40 (Supplement 1), April 2022. (co-edited with Alexandre Mas).

Monopsony in the Labor Market. Journal of Human Resources 57 (Supplement) 2022. (co-edited with Orley Ashenfelter, Henry Farber and Michael Ransom)

Models of Linked Employer-Employee Data. Journal of Econometrics 233(2) April 2023 (co-edited with Ian Schmutte and Lars Vilhuber).

Journal Articles and Chapters in Books:

(with Fabrizio Colella and Rafael Lalive). "Gender Preferences in Job Vacancies and Workplace Gender Diversification." Forthcoming Review of Economic Studies.

(with Daniel L. Rubinfeld). "Reference Guide on Multiple Regression and Advanced Statistical Models." In Reference Manual on Scientific Evidence, 4th Edition. Federal Judicial Center National Research Council. Washington DC: National Academies Press, forthcoming 2024.

(with Jesse Rothstein and Moises Yi). "Location, Location, Location." Forthcoming AEJ: Applied.

(with Jesse Rothstein and Moises Yi). "Reassessing the Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis." AEA Papers and Proceedings 114, May 2024.

(with Jesse Rothstein and Moises Yi). "Industry Wage Differentials: A Firm-Based Approach." Journal of Labor Economics 42 (S1), April 2024.

(with David Chan and Lowell Taylor). "Is there Is There a VA Advantage? Evidence from Dually Eligible Veterans." American Economic Review 113(11), November 2023. Winner 2023 National Institute for Health Care Management Research Award.

(with Benoit Dostie, Jiang Li and Daniel Parent). "Employer Policies and the Immigrant-Native Earnings Gap." Journal of Econometrics 233(2) April 2023.

(with Alessandra Fenizia and David Silver). "The Health Impacts of Hospital Delivery Practices." American Economic Journal: Economic Policy 15(2), May 2023.

(with Stefano Della Vigna, Patricia Funk, and Nagore Iriberry). "Gender Gaps at the Academies." Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS) 120(4) January 2023.

(with Orley Ashenfelter, Henry Farber and Michael Ransom). "Monopsony in the Labor Market: New Empirical Results and New Public Policies." Journal of Human Resources 57 (Supplement) 2022.

(with Ana Rute Cardoso). "Wage Flexibility Under Sectoral Bargaining." Journal of the European Economic Association 20 October 2022.

(with Stefano Della Vigna, Patricia Funk, and Nagore Iriberry). "Gender Differences in Peer Recognition by Economists." Econometrica 90 September 2022.

"Design-based Research in Empirical Economics." (Nobel Memorial Lecture). American Economic

Review, 112 June 2022.

(with Zhuan Pei, David S. Lee, and Andrea Weber). "Local Polynomial Order in Regression Discontinuity Designs." Journal of Business and Economics Statistics 40 June 2022.

(with David Chan, Kaveh Danesh, Sydney Costantini, Lowell Taylor, and David M. Studdert). "Mortality Among US Veterans After Emergency Visits to Veterans Affairs and Other Hospitals: Retrospective Cohort Study." British Medical Journal (BMJ) 376:e068099 2022.

"Who Set *Your* Wage?" (AEA Presidential Address). American Economic Review, 112 April 2022.

(with Ciprian Domnisoru and Lowell Taylor). "The Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital: Evidence from the Golden Age of Upward Mobility." Journal of Labor Economics 40 S1, April 2022.

(with Alex Solis). "Measuring the Effect of Student Loans on College Persistence." Education Finance and Policy 17 April 2022.

(with Francois Gerard, Lorenzo Lagos and Edson Severnini). "Assortative Matching or Exclusionary Hiring? The Impact of Firm Policies on Racial Wage Differences in Brazil." American Economic Review, 111 October 2021.

(with Dean Hyslop). "Female Earnings Inequality: The Changing Role of Family Characteristics on the Extensive and Intensive Margins." Journal of Labor Economics 39 S1, 2021.

(with A. Abigail Payne). "High School Choices and the Gender Gap in STEM." Economic Inquiry 59 January 2021.

(with Stefano Della Vigna). "What Do Editors Maximize? Evidence from Four Leading Economics Journals." Review of Economics and Statistics, 102 March 2020.

(with Stefano Della Vigna, Patricia Funk, and Nagore Iriberry). "Are Editors in Economics Gender Neutral?" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 135 February 2020.

(with Thomas Lemieux and W. Craig Riddell). "Unions and Wage Inequality: The Roles of Gender, Skill, and Public Service Employment." Canadian Journal of Economics, 53 2020.

(with Jochen Kluve and Andrea Weber). "What Works? A Meta Analysis of Recent Active Labor Market Program Evaluations." Journal of the European Economic Association 16 June 2018.

(with Ana Rute Cardoso, Joerg Heining, and Patrick Kline). "Firms and Labor Market Inequality: Evidence and Some Theory." Journal of Labor Economics 36 January 2018.

(with Stefan Bender, Nicolas Bloom, John Van Reenen, and Stephani Wolter). "Management Practices, Workforce Selection, and Productivity." Journal of Labor Economics 36 January 2018.

(with Zhuan Pei, David S. Lee and Andrea Weber). "Regression Kink Design: Theory and Practice." Advances in Econometrics 38, 2017.

(with Laura Giuliano). "Can Universal Screening Increase the Representation of Low Income and Minority Students in Gifted Education?" Proceedings of the National Academy of Science 113, November 2016.

(with Laura Giuliano). "Can Tracking Raise the Test Scores of High-Ability Minority Students?" American Economic Review October 2016.

(with Ana Rute Cardoso and Patrick Kline). "Bargaining, Sorting, and the Gender Wage Gap: Quantifying the Impact of Firms on the Relative Pay of Women." Quarterly Journal of Economics May 2016.

(with David S. Lee, Zhuan Pei and Andrea Weber). "Inference on Causal Effects in a Generalized Regression Kink Design." Econometrica 83, November 2015.

(with Andrew Johnson, Pauline Leung, Alexandre Mas and Zhuan Pei). "The Effect of Unemployment Benefits on the Duration of UI Receipt: New Evidence from a Regression Kink Design in Missouri: 2003-2013." American Economic Review 105, May 2015.

(with Laura Giuliano). "Peer Effects and Multiple Equilibria in the Risky Behavior of Friends." Review of Economics and Statistics, 95 October 2014.

(with Stefano Della Vigna). "Page Limits on Economics Articles: Evidence from Two Journals." Journal of Economic Perspectives 28 Summer 2014.

(with Francesco Devicienti and Agata Maida). "Rent Sharing, Holdup, and Wages: Evidence from Matched Panel Data." Review of Economic Studies 84, January 2014.

(with Jörg Heining and Patrick Kline). "Workplace Heterogeneity and the Rise of West German Wage Inequality." Quarterly Journal of Economics, 128 August 2013.

(with Stefano Della Vigna). "Nine Facts About Top Journals in Economics." Journal of Economic Literature, March 2013.

(with Alexandre Mas, Enrico Moretti, and Emmanuel Saez). "Inequality at Work: The Effect of Peer Salaries on Job Satisfaction." American Economic Review, October 2012.

(with Ana Rute Cardoso). "Can Compulsory Military Service Increase Civilian Wages? Evidence from the Peacetime Draft in Portugal." American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, October 2012.

(with Christian Dustmann and Ian Preston). "Immigration, Wages, and Compositional Amenities." Journal of the European Economic Association, February 2012.

(with Pablo Ibarrran, Ferdinando Regalia, David Rosas and Yuri Soares). "The Labor Market Impacts of Youth Training in the Dominican Republic: Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation." Journal of Labor Economics, April 2011.

(with Alexandre Mas and Jesse Rothstein). "Are Mixed Neighborhoods Always Unstable? Two-sided and One-sided Tipping." In Harriet Newburger, Eugenie Birch and Susan M. Wachter, editors, *Neighborhood and Life Chances*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

(with Stefano Della Vigna and Ulrike Malmendier. "The Role of Theory in Field Experiments". Journal of Economic Perspectives, Summer 2011.

"Origins of the Unemployment Rate: The Lasting Legacy of Measurement without Theory." American Economic Review, May 2011.

(with Gordon B. Dahl). "Family Violence and Football: The Effect of Unexpected Emotional Cues on Violent Behavior." Quarterly Journal of Economics, March 2011.

(with Michael Ransom). "Pension Plan Characteristics and Framing Effects in Employee Savings Behavior." Review of Economics and Statistics, January 2011.

(with Jochen Kluve and Andrea Weber). "Active Labor Market Policy Evaluations: A Meta-Analysis." Economic Journal Features, November 2010.

(with A. Abigail Payne and Martin Dooley). "School Competition and Efficiency with Publicly-Funded Catholic Schools." American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2 (October 2010).

(with Kevin Hallock and Enrico Moretti). "The Geography of Giving: The Effect of Corporate Headquarters on Local Charities." Journal of Public Economics, 94 (April 2010).

(with Dean Hyslop). "The Dynamic Effects of an Earnings Subsidy for Long-term Welfare Recipients: Evidence from the SSP Applicant Experiment." Journal of Econometrics 153 (November 2009).

(with Carlos Dobkin and Nicole Maestas). "Does Medicare Save Lives?" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 124 (May 2009).

"Immigration and Inequality". American Economic Review 99 May 2009.

(with Brian McCall). "When to Start a Fight and When to Fight Back: Workers' Compensation Liability Denials and Disputes." Journal of Labor Economics, 27 (April 2009).

"How Immigration Affects U.S. Cities." In Robert Inman, editor *Urban Enigma: City Problems, City Prospects*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

(with Carlos Dobkin and Nicole Maestas). "The Impact of Nearly Universal Insurance Coverage on Health Care Utilization: Evidence from Medicare". American Economic Review, 98 December 2008.

(with Rebecca Blank). "The Changing Incidence and Severity of Poverty Spells Among Female-Headed Families." American Economic Review 98 (May 2008).

(with Alexandre Mas and Jesse Rothstein). "Tipping and the Dynamics of Segregation." Quarterly Journal of Economics, 123 (February 2008).

(with David S. Lee). "Regression Discontinuity Inference with Specification Error." Journal of Econometrics, 142 (February 2008).

(with Jesse Rothstein). "Racial Segregation and the Black-White Test Score Gap." Journal of Public Economics, 91 (December 2007).

(with Raj Chetty and Andrea Weber). "Cash-on-Hand and Competing Models of Intertemporal Behavior: New Evidence from the Labor Market." Quarterly Journal of Economics, 122 (November 2007).

(with Enrico Moretti). "Does Voting Technology Affect Election Outcomes? Touch-Screen Voting and the 2004 Presidential Election." Review of Economics and Statistics, 89 (November 2007).

(with Raj Chetty and Andrea Weber). "The Spike at Benefit Exhaustion: Leaving the Unemployment System or Starting a New Job?" American Economic Review, 97 (May 2007).

(with Ethan G. Lewis). "The Diffusion of Mexican Immigrants During the 1990s: Explanations and Impacts." In George Borjas, editor, *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. University of Chicago Press, 2007.

(with Sara de la Rica). "The Effect of Firm-Level Contracts on the Structure of Wages: Evidence from Matched Employer-Employee Data." Industrial and Labor Relations Review, October 2006.

"Is the New Immigration Really So Bad?" Economic Journal 115 (November 2005).

(with Dean R. Hyslop). "Estimating the Effects of a Time-Limited Earnings Subsidy for Welfare Leavers." Econometrica, 73 (November 2005). Winner of 2007 Frisch Prize.

(with Alan B. Krueger). "Would the Elimination of Affirmative Action Affect Highly Qualified Minority Applicants? Evidence from California and Texas." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 58 (April 2005).

(with Philip Robins). "How Important Are Entry Effects in Financial Incentive Programs for Welfare Recipients? Experimental Evidence from the Self-Sufficiency Project." Journal of Econometrics 125 (March-April 2005).

(with Charles Michalopoulos and Philip K. Robins). "When Financial Incentives Pay for Themselves: Evidence from a Randomized Social Experiment for Welfare Recipients." Journal of Public Economics 89 (January 2005).

(with Lara D. Shore-Sheppard). "Using Discontinuous Eligibility Rules to Identify the Effects of the Federal Medicaid Expansions." Review of Economics and Statistics, 86 (August 2004).

(with Andrew K. G. Hildreth and Lara Shore-Sheppard). "The Measurement of Medicaid Coverage in the SIPP: Evidence from California, 1990-1996." Journal of Business and Economic Statistics, 22 (October 2004).

(with Thomas Lemieux and W. Craig Riddell). "Unions and Wage Inequality." Journal of Labor Research, 25 (Fall 2004). Reprinted in James T. Bennett and Bruce E. Kaufman, editors, *What Do Unions Do? A Twenty Year Retrospective*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007.

(with Richard B. Freeman). "What Have Two Decades of British Economic Reform Delivered?" In Richard Blundell, David Card, and Richard B. Freeman, editors, *Seeking a Premier League Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press for NBER, 2004.

"Canadian Emigration to the United States." In Charles Beach, editor, *Canadian Immigration Policy for the 21st Century*. Kingston, Ontario: John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, 2003.

(with Thomas Lemieux and W. Craig Riddell). "Unions and the Wage Structure." In John T. Addison and Claus Schnabel, editors, *The International Handbook of Trade Unions*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2003.

(with John E. DiNardo). "Skill Biased Technical Change and Rising Wage Inequality: Some Problems and Puzzles." Journal of Labor Economics 20 (October 2002).

(with Orley Ashenfelter). "Did the Elimination of Mandatory Retirement Affect Faculty Retirement Flows?" American Economic Review 92 (September 2002).

(with A. Abigail Payne). "School Finance Reform, the Distribution of School Spending, and the Distribution of SAT Scores." Journal of Public Economics 83 (January 2002).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Education, Earnings, and the Canadian G.I. Bill." Canadian Journal of Economics 34 (May 2001).

"Estimating the Return to Schooling: Progress on Some Persistent Econometric Problems." Econometrica 69 (September 2001).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Can Falling Supply Explain the Rising Return to College for Younger Men? A Cohort-Based Analysis." Quarterly Journal of Economics 116 (May 2001).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Going to College to Avoid the Draft: The Unintended Legacy of the Vietnam War." American Economic Review 91 (May 2001).

"Immigrant Inflows, Native Outflows and the Local Labor Market Impacts of Higher Immigration." Journal of Labor Economics 19 (January 2001).

"The Effect of Unions on Wage Inequality in the U.S. Labor Market." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 54 (January 2001).

"Welfare Reform and the Labor Market Outcomes of Women." In Paul Ong and James R. Lincoln, editors, *The State of California Labor*. Berkeley CA: Institute of Industrial Relations, 2001.

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Dropout and Enrollment Trends in the Post-War Period: What Went Wrong in the 1970s?" In Jonathan Gruber, editor, *Risky Behavior Among Youth: An Economic Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

(with Alan Krueger). "A Re-analysis of the Effect of the New Jersey Minimum Wage with Representative Payroll Data." American Economic Review 90 (December 2000).

(with John E. DiNardo). "Do Immigrant Inflows Lead to Native Outflows?" American Economic Review 90 (May 2000).

(with Rebecca M. Blank and Philip K. Robins). "Financial Incentives for Increasing Work and Income Among Low-Income Families." In Rebecca M. Blank and David Card, editors, *Finding Work: Jobs and Welfare Reform*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000.

(with Phillip Levine). "Extended Benefits and the Duration of UI Spells: Evidence from the New Jersey Extended Benefit Program." Journal of Public Economics 78 (October 2000).

(with John E. DiNardo and Eugena Estes). "The More Things Change: Immigrants and the Children of Immigrants in the 1940s, the 1970s, and the 1990s." In George J. Borjas, editor, *Issues in the Economics of Immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

"The Causal Effect of Education on Earnings". In Orley Ashenfelter and David Card, editors, *Handbook of Labor Economics* Volume 3A. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1999.

(with Francis Kramarz and Thomas Lemieux). "Changes in the Relative Structure of Wages and Employment: A Comparison of the United States, Canada, and France." Canadian Journal of Economics 32 (August 1999).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Adapting to Circumstances: The Evolution of Work, School, and Living Arrangements Among North American Youth." In David Blanchflower and Richard Freeman, editors, *Youth Employment and Joblessness in Advanced Countries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

(with Philip Robins). "Do Financial Incentives Encourage Welfare Recipients to Work? Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation of the Self-Sufficiency Project". In Solomon Polachek, editor, Research in Labor Economics vol. 17. Greenwich Connecticut: JAI Press, 1998.

(with Alan Krueger). "School Resources and Student Outcomes." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 559 (September 1998).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Recent Trends in the Economic Status of North American Youth". Annual Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association (December 1997).

"Deregulation and Labor Earnings in the Airline Industry." In James Peoples, editor, *Regulatory Reform and Labor Markets*. Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997.

(with W. Craig Riddell). "Unemployment in Canada and the United States: A Further Analysis". In B. Curtis Eaton and Richard Harris, editors, *Trade, Technology, and Economics: Essays in Honour of Richard G. Lipsey*. Brookfield MA: Edward Elgar, 1997.

(with Dean Hyslop). "Does Inflation 'Grease the Wheels of the Labor Market'?" In Christina D. Romer and David H. Romer, editors, *Reducing Inflation: Motivation and Strategy*. University of Chicago Press, 1997.

(with Alan Krueger). "School Resources and Student Outcomes: An Overview of the Literature and New Evidence from North and South Carolina". Journal of Economic Perspectives 10 (Fall 1996).

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Wage Dispersion, Returns to Skill, and Black-White Wage Differentials". Journal of Econometrics 74 (October 1996).

(with Alan Krueger). "Labor Market Effects of School Quality: Theory and Evidence". In Gary Burtless, editor, *The Link Between Schools, Student Achievement, and Adult Success*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1996.

(with Brian McCall). "Is Workers' Compensation Covering Uninsured Medical Costs? Evidence from the 'Monday Effect'". Industrial and Labor Relations Review 49 (July 1996).

"The Effect of Unions on the Structure of Wages: A Longitudinal Analysis." Econometrica 64 (July 1996).

"Earnings, Schooling, and Ability Revisited." In Solomon Polachek, editor, Research in Labor Economics, vol. 14. Greenwich Connecticut: JAI Press, 1995.

(with Alan Krueger). "The Economic Return to School Quality: A Partial Survey." In William Baumol and William E. Becker, editors, *Assessing Educational Practices: The Contribution of Economics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995.

"Using Geographic Variation in College Proximity to Estimate the Return to Schooling". In L.N.

Christofides, E.K. Grant, and R. Swidinsky, editors, *Aspects of Labor Market Behaviour: Essays in Honour of John Vanderkamp*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

(with Alan Krueger). "Time-Series Minimum Wage Studies: A Meta-Analysis." American Economic Review 85 (May 1995).

(with Craig Olson). "Bargaining Power, Strike Durations, and Wage Outcomes: An Analysis of Strikes in the 1880s." Journal of Labor Economics 13 (January 1995).

(with Alan Krueger). "Minimum Wages and Employment: A Case Study of the Fast Food Industry in New Jersey and Pennsylvania." American Economic Review 84 (September 1994).

(with Richard Freeman). "Small Differences that Matter: Canada Versus the United States." In Richard B. Freeman, editor, *Working Under Different Rules*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994.

(with Thomas Lemieux). "Changing Wage Structure and Black-White Wage Differentials." American Economic Review 84 (May 1994).

"Intertemporal Labor Supply: An Assessment." In Christopher Sims, editor, *Advances in Econometrics, Sixth World Congress*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

(with Phillip Levine). "Unemployment Insurance Taxes and the Cyclical Properties of Employment and Unemployment." Journal of Public Economics 53 (February 1994).

(with Rebecca Blank). "Poverty, Income, and Growth: Are They Still Connected?" Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2 (Fall) 1993.

(with W. Craig Riddell). "A Comparative Analysis of Unemployment in the United States and Canada." In David Card and Richard B. Freeman, editors, *Small Differences that Matter: Labor Markets and Income Maintenance in Canada and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

(with Alan Krueger). "Trends in Relative Black-White Earnings Revisited." American Economic Review 83 (May 1993).

"Do Minimum Wages Reduce Employment? A Case Study of California, 1987-89." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 46 (October 1992).

"Using Regional Variation in Wages to Measure the Effects of the Federal Minimum Wage." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 46 (October 1992).

(with Alan Krueger). "Does School Quality Matter: Returns to Education and the Characteristics of Public Schools in the United States." Journal of Political Economy 100 (February 1992).

(with Alan Krueger). "School Quality and Black-White Relative Earnings: A Direct Assessment." Quarterly Journal of Economics 107 (February 1992).

(with Rebecca Blank). "Recent Trends in Insured and Uninsured Unemployment: Is There An Explanation?" Quarterly Journal of Economics 106 (November 1991).

(with Kristin Butcher). "Immigration and Wages: Evidence from the 1980s." American Economic Review 81 (May 1991).

(with Joseph Altonji). "The Effects of Immigration on the Labor Market Outcomes of Less-Skilled Natives." In John Abowd and Richard B. Freeman, editors., *Immigration, Trade and Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

"Minimum Wages and the Teenage Labor Market: A Case Study of California, 1987-89." Annual Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association (December 1990).

"Labor Supply with a Minimum Hours Threshold." Carnegie Rochester Conference on Public Policy 33 (Autumn 1990).

"Strikes and Wages: A Test of An Asymmetric Information Model." Quarterly Journal of Economics 105 (August 1990).

"Unexpected Inflation, Real Wages, and Employment Determination in Union Contracts." American Economic Review 80 (September 1990).

"Strikes and Bargaining: A Survey of the Recent Empirical Literature." American Economic Review 80 (May 1990).

"The Impact of the Mariel Boatlift on the Miami Labor Market." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 43 (January 1990).

(with John Abowd). "On the Covariance Structure of Earnings and Hours Changes." Econometrica 57 (March 1989).

"Longitudinal Analysis of Strike Activity." Journal of Labor Economics 6 (April 1988).

(with Daniel Sullivan). "Measuring the Effect of Subsidized Training Programs on Movements In and Out of Employment." Econometrica 56 (May 1988).

(with John Abowd). "Intertemporal Labor Supply and Long Term Employment Contracts." American Economic Review 77 (March 1987).

"Efficient Contracts with Costly Adjustment: Short Run Employment Determination for Airline Mechanics." American Economic Review 76 (December 1986).

"The Impact of Deregulation on the Employment and Wages of Airline Mechanics." Industrial and Labor Relations Review 39 (July 1986).

(with Orley Ashenfelter). "Why Have Unemployment Rates in Canada and the United States Diverged?" Economica 53 (Supplement 1986).

"An Empirical Model of Wage Indexation Provisions in Union Contracts." Journal of Political Economy 94 (June 1986).

(with Orley Ashenfelter). "Using the Longitudinal Structure of Earnings to Estimate the Effect of Training Programs." Review of Economics and Statistics 67 (November 1985).

"Microeconomic Models of Wage Indexation." Annual Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association (December 1984).

"Cost of Living Escalators in Major Union Contracts." Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 37 (October 1983).

(with Orley Ashenfelter). "Time Series Representations of Economic Variables and Alternative Models of the Labor Market." Review of Economic Studies, 69 (September 1982).

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF ELLIOTT
YOUNG IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE EFFECTIVE
DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF ELLIOTT YOUNG

1
2 1. I, Elliott Young, am a Professor of History at Lewis & Clark College. If called to
3 testify, I could and would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on three topics: the demographic
5 makeup of Venezuelan Temporary Protected Status (TPS) holders, current political and economic
6 conditions in Venezuela, and how the debate over Venezuelan TPS reflects the history of racism in
7 immigration policy debates in the United States. I make this declaration based on my personal and
8 professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly
9 relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes
10 available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will
11 advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate
12 judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own. A true and correct copy of my CV
13 is attached as Appendix A.

14 3. It is my considered opinion that the political and economic crisis that Venezuela has
15 been experiencing for the last decade continues to this day. Moreover, the statements of various
16 people in the Trump administration (including President Trump and DHS Secretary Noem)
17 characterizing Venezuelan TPS holders as dangerous criminals who harm the U.S. economy is a
18 false narrative, and one reflecting racist tropes that have long been wielded against immigrants to
19 the United States.

20 **I. Expertise**

21 4. I am qualified to provide my opinion given my background and experience on the
22 political and social history of Venezuela and on the history of U.S. immigration. I am a Professor of
23 History at Lewis & Clark College, where I have taught Latin American and immigration history for
24 more than 26 years, and was director of Latin American Studies for more than a decade. I have also
25 served as director of Ethnic Studies for more than a decade and am an affiliated faculty member of
26 the Gender Studies program. I am co-director of the Stanford Migration & Asylum Lab (MAL) and
27 have co-authored their Venezuela Country Conditions Bulletin.
28

1 5. I regularly teach classes that discuss the human rights and political conditions in
2 Venezuela, and I teach a class on Immigration and Asylum Law and a Public History Lab course
3 that focuses on country conditions in Venezuela. In 2004, I visited Venezuela as part of an
4 international delegation to witness the campaign for the referendum on President Hugo Chavez's
5 rule. Following the delegation, I published a column in the History News Network about the
6 referendum in Venezuela. I have provided expert witness testimony in over 70 Venezuela cases,
7 thirty in which I provided testimony. I have conducted extensive field research and scholarly
8 studies about cross-border smuggling, paramilitary groups on the border, and clandestine trafficking
9 of migrants.

10 6. My articles have appeared in leading scholarly journals like the *American Historical*
11 *Review*, *Past & Present*, the *Pacific Historical Review*, *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Mexican*
12 *Studies*, *Cuban Studies*, and the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. I have published four books:
13 *Alien Nation: Chinese Migrations in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII* (UNC Press,
14 2014), *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border* (Duke University Press 2004), a
15 co-edited volume on borderlands history entitled *Continental Crossroads: Remapping the US-*
16 *Mexico Borderlands History* (Duke University Press 2004), and *Forever Prisoners: How the United*
17 *States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World* (Oxford University Press, 2021).
18 I have also published book chapters in volumes published by Oxford University Press, University
19 of Illinois Press, University of Texas Press, and Routledge.

20 7. I earned a BA in History and Latin American Studies from Princeton University '89,
21 and an MA and Ph.D. in Latin American History from the University of Texas at Austin '97.

22 8. I was awarded the Fulbright and Fulbright Hays fellowships in Mexico, Woodrow
23 Wilson and Mellon fellowships, and a Franklin Fellowship awarded by the American Philosophical
24 Society. I have lectured at universities and other public fora in the United States and Mexico about
25 clandestine migratory networks between the U.S. and Mexico.

26 9. I also founded the Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas in
27 2004. This Institute brings together North and Latin American scholars every July to discuss issues
28 such as migration, violence and transnational criminal networks.

1 **II. The Demographic Profile of Venezuelans with Temporary Protected Status (TPS)**

2 10. Venezuelan migration to the United States has increased dramatically in the last
3 decade. Broadly speaking, people of Venezuelan descent are more active in the U.S. labor force and
4 have higher levels of education compared to other immigrants. But there has been a demographic
5 shift in the last 25 years between the older arrivals, who are wealthier and whiter, and more recent
6 migrants who are poorer and darker-skinned. As of the end of 2023, there were more than 900,000
7 Venezuelans living in the United States.¹ They constitute only a small portion of the 7.9 million
8 Venezuelans who have fled the country in recent years. Most of them are living in neighboring Latin
9 American countries such as Colombia and Peru.² Most Venezuelans in the United States have
10 arrived since 2010, almost half of them residing in Florida. The median age for Venezuelans in the
11 United States was 39 in 2023, which was almost ten years younger than the median age for other
12 foreign-born people. Venezuelans have higher education levels than immigrants in general, higher
13 than even U.S.-born people. For example, 48 percent of Venezuelan immigrants 25 or older had a
14 bachelor's degree or higher, while only 35 percent of all immigrant adults and 36 percent of U.S.-
15 born adults had attained a similar degree. Three-quarters of Venezuelan immigrants 16 or older were
16 in the civilian labor force in 2023, compared to 67 percent for foreign-born in general and 63 percent
17 for U.S.-born individuals.³ Although large-scale Venezuelan migration is a recent phenomenon,
18 given their education and high labor force participation it is likely that many of these immigrants
19 will become professionals or skilled workers and contribute to the U.S. economy.

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21
22
23
24 ¹ United States Census Bureau, "American Community Survey," 2023,
25 <https://data.census.gov/table/ACSSPP1Y2023.S0201?q=Venezuelan>. Ana Alanis Amaya and Jeanne
26 Batalova, "Venezuelan Immigrants in the United States," Feb. 6, 2025, Migration Policy Institute,
27 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>.

28 ² "Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants," R4V Inter-Agency Coordination Platform for Refugees and
Migrants from Venezuela, Nov. 2024, <https://www.r4v.info/en/document/r4v-latin-america-and-caribbean-venezuelan-refugees-and-migrants-region-nov-2024-0>.

³ Ana Alanis Amaya and Jeanne Batalova, "Venezuelan Immigrants in the United States," Feb. 6,
2025, Migration Policy Institute, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>.

1 11. An estimated 607,000 Venezuelans living in the United States are covered by TPS,
2 348,000 of whom were registered under the 2023 designation.⁴ Given that TPS eligibility
3 requirements bar individuals with any felony conviction or more than one misdemeanor, this group
4 of Venezuelan immigrants is, by definition, not comprised of dangerous criminals. Furthermore,
5 TPS eligibility requirements bar anyone who is also barred from obtaining asylum and anyone
6 inadmissible under INA section 212(a), including “non-waivable criminal and security-related
7 grounds.”⁵

8 12. Between them, the general demographic profile of highly educated, young working
9 immigrants and the eligibility rules for TPS suggest a portrait of Venezuelan TPS holders very
10 different than the one painted by the Trump administration of gang members and dangerous
11 criminals. The language being used by President Trump, Department of Homeland Security
12 Secretary Kristi Noem, and other Trump administration officials to describe Venezuelan TPS
13 holders echoes historical stereotypes about immigrants as mentally ill and dangerous criminals.

14 **III. Political and Economic Conditions in Venezuela**

15 **a. Political Repression in Venezuela**

16 13. There is a long history of political repression in Venezuela throughout the Hugo
17 Chávez and Nicolás Maduro regimes. The situation has only worsened in recent years. The latest
18 U.S. State Department’s 2023 Human Rights Report on Venezuela, published in March 2024,
19 states, “There were no significant changes in the human rights situation in Venezuela during the
20 year.”⁶ The previous year’s 2022 State Department report, published in 2023, documented
21 “Significant human rights issues include[ing] credible reports of: unlawful or arbitrary killings,
22 including extrajudicial killings by regime forces; forced disappearances by the regime; torture or
23

24 ⁴ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Termination of the October 3, 2023 Designation of
25 Venezuela Temporary Protected Status,” Federal Register, Feb. 5, 2025,
<https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/02/05/2025-02294/termination-of-the-october-3-2023-designation-of-venezuela-for-temporary-protected-status>.

26 ⁵ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Temporary Protected Status- Eligibility
27 Requirements,” accessed Feb 15, 2025, <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/temporary-protected-status>.

28 ⁶ U.S. State Department, “Venezuela 2023 Human Rights Report,” March 2024,
https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf, p.1.

1 cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment by security forces; harsh and life-threatening
2 prison conditions; arbitrary arrest or detention by security forces; political prisoners or detainees;
3 serious problems with the independence of the judiciary.”⁷

4 14. After the death of Hugo Chávez in March 2013, his hand-picked successor, Nicolás
5 Maduro, narrowly prevailed in snap elections that revealed deep political divisions in Venezuelan
6 society.⁸ Maduro, who served under Chávez for twenty years and calls himself the “Son of
7 Chávez,” has actively framed his presidency as a continuation of the Chávez regime and its socialist
8 platform.⁹ Maduro’s government has amplified Chávez’s practice of repressing political opponents.
9 Beginning with the 2013 election, Maduro threatened that a vote against him would be akin to
10 treason.¹⁰ Since then, he has continued to retaliate against any perceived critics of the government,
11 including by investigating and jailing them.¹¹

12 15. Elections in Venezuela have been so deeply tainted by Maduro’s control that
13 opposition parties cannot reasonably claim to have any legislative power. For example, in May
14 2018, Maduro was re-elected in a highly controversial and unfair election boycotted by most
15 opposition political parties and not recognized by the National Assembly. During the elections,
16 many opposition candidates were barred from running while others were jailed or fled the country
17 for fear of imprisonment. Similarly, the July 28, 2024 election was marked by apparent widespread
18 fraud. Although the election authorities claimed Maduro won 51 percent of the vote to the
19 opposition candidate’s 44 percent, the government has not released vote tallies. The opposition
20 collected receipts from 81 percent of polling machines, showing that Maduro’s opponent, Edmundo

21 ⁷ U.S. State Department, “Venezuela 2022 Human Rights Report,” March 2023,
22 [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-
RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_VENEZUELA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), p.2.

23 ⁸ Juan Ferero, “Nicolas Maduro narrowly wins presidential election in Venezuela,” *The Washington*
24 *Post*, April 15, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-
leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html).

25 ⁹ Jim Wyss, “Chavismo after Chávez: Two years after president’s death, party loyalties are strained,”
Miami Herald, March 8, 2015, [https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-
world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html).

26 ¹⁰ Juan Ferero, “Nicolas Maduro narrowly wins presidential election in Venezuela,” *The Washington*
Post, April 15, 2013, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-
leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hugo-chavez-heir-nicolas-maduro-leads-in-polls-ahead-of-vote/2013/04/14/334cd2ba-a54b-11e2-9e1c-bb0fb0c2edd9_story.html).

27 ¹¹ Jim Wyss, “Chavismo after Chávez: Two years after president’s death, party loyalties are
28 strained,” *Miami Herald*, March 8, 2015, [https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-
world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html](https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/venezuela/article13012655.html).

1 González, had won 67 percent of the vote. Exit polling on election day also revealed a landslide for
2 the opposition, raising doubts about the electoral authorities' announcement. In the wake of such
3 fraud, former U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken recognized González as the legitimate winner
4 of the election. In the days following the election, more than 750 people were arrested and 17
5 people died as a result of clashes between state security forces and protestors.¹² Gonzalez fled
6 Venezuela in the face of imminent arrest and has been seeking legitimacy from Europe and the
7 United States as the new President of Venezuela.

8 **b. Venezuela's Economic and Social Crisis**

9 16. The economy of Venezuela is in crisis and has been for quite some time. One-third of
10 Venezuelans (8 million out of 29 million) have left the country in recent years because of political
11 instability, violence, and economic collapse. Historically, the oil-rich nation was among the
12 wealthiest in Latin America, even as wealth was distributed unevenly, but since 2010, the country
13 has been in an economic freefall with hyperinflation, increasing poverty rates, and declining oil
14 production. Venezuela's daily oil production dropped more than one-third, from 3 million barrels of
15 oil per day in 1998 to less than 900,000 barrels a day in January 2025.¹³ The average salary for a
16 public school teacher or nurse is \$3 a month, while a private sector employee earns \$160 monthly.
17 Meanwhile, the cost to feed a family of four is \$372 monthly. U.S. economic sanctions, including a
18 ban on oil imports from Venezuela, have contributed to the collapse of the economy.¹⁴

19 17. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew significantly during the first decade of the
20 Chavez regime, up to 2012, largely buoyed by high oil prices. GDP rose to \$373 billion in 2012, but
21 since that time GDP has plummeted, reaching a low of \$44 billion in 2020, and rebounding to \$106

22 ¹²Anatoly Kumanaev and Ethan Singer, "Election Results Presented by Venezuela's Opposition
23 Suggest Maduro Lost Decisively," *New York Times*, July 31, 2024,
24 <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/world/americas/venezuela-maduro-election-results.html>. Julie
Turkewitz, "US Recognizes Maduro's Rival as Winner of Venezuela Election," *New York Times*,
24 Aug. 1, 2024, [https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/01/world/americas/venezuela-election-gonzalez-](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/01/world/americas/venezuela-election-gonzalez-maduro.html)
[maduro.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/01/world/americas/venezuela-election-gonzalez-maduro.html).

25 ¹³ Marianna Parraga, "How Venezuela Pulled Its Oil Production Out of a Tailspin," *Reuters*, Dec 27,
26 2021, [https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/how-venezuela-pulled-its-oil-production-out-](https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/how-venezuela-pulled-its-oil-production-out-tailspin-2021-12-27/)
[tailspin-2021-12-27/](https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/how-venezuela-pulled-its-oil-production-out-tailspin-2021-12-27/). "Venezuela Crude Oil: Production," CEIC, accessed Feb 15, 2025,
26 <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/venezuela/crude-oil-production>.

27 ¹⁴ Julie Turkewitz and Isayen Herrera, "Why Are So Many Venezuelans Going to the United States,"
28 *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 2023, [https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/24/world/americas/why-are-so-](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/24/world/americas/why-are-so-many-venezuelans-going-to-the-united-states.html)
[many-venezuelans-going-to-the-united-states.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/24/world/americas/why-are-so-many-venezuelans-going-to-the-united-states.html).

1 billion in 2024. In spite of this rebound, Venezuela's GDP is still about a fourth of what it was in
2 2012, representing a major contraction of the economy.¹⁵ Hyperinflation spiked to over 63,000% in
3 2018, and while it has dropped, it was 60% in 2024.¹⁶

4 18. The consequences of the mismanaged economy and the U.S. economic sanctions
5 have been dramatic. In February 2024, the UN Special Rapporteur indicated that over 80 percent of
6 Venezuelans live in poverty and over 50 percent in extreme poverty.¹⁷ Venezuela's macroeconomic
7 situation is dire by any measure, but if you combine that with the highly skewed distribution of
8 income and wealth, you begin to understand why a third of the country fled in recent years. In
9 Caracas, you can find stores selling Prada purses, Ferraris, and a \$110,000 television, alongside
10 people earning \$10 a month and going hungry.

11 19. Although many Venezuelans have fled their country due to political violence and the
12 restrictions on their freedom to express political views, others have also fled because of the
13 economic and social collapse in Venezuela. While the first group may be eligible to apply for
14 asylum in the United States, members of the latter group, which includes many with TPS, are
15 unlikely to establish eligibility for asylum.

16 **IV. Racism in U.S. Immigration History**

17 20. The statements made about Venezuelan TPS holders by President Trump, DHS
18 Secretary Noem, and other Trump administration officials can be understood in the context of a long
19 history of using similar statements about disfavored immigrant groups to justify restrictive
20 immigration laws. The idea of stigmatizing immigrants as dangerous criminals and national security
21 threats has a long history in the United States stretching back to the early days of the Republic.¹⁸
22 Immigration restrictions and the rhetoric surrounding them have reflected racism throughout United
23 States history, as those opposing immigrant populations understood as non-white have described

24
25 ¹⁵ "Venezuela- Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 2025," Statista, accessed Feb 15, 2025,
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/370937/gross-domestic-product-gdp-in-venezuela/>.

26 ¹⁶ "Venezuela: Inflation rate from 1985 to 2025," Statista, accessed Feb 15, 2025,
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/371895/inflation-rate-in-venezuela/>.

27 ¹⁷ Thomson Reuters, "Venezuela's Election: More Maduro or a New Democratic Era?" *CBC News*,
July 25, 2024, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/venezuela-election-preview-1.7274864>.

28 ¹⁸ Elliott Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

1 them as animal, criminal, mentally or physically ill, likely to “poison the blood” of the country or
2 otherwise dilute its gene pool. President Trump and others involved in his campaign have used all of
3 these tropes as part of their attack on immigrants in general and Venezuelans in particular.

4 21. These tropes have been used from the nation’s outset. Naturalization laws starting in
5 1790, for example, restricted citizenship to “free white” people, while other immigration laws
6 prevented the entry of Black and Chinese people.¹⁹ In the wake of the Haitian Revolution in 1791, a
7 group of white North Carolinians petitioned Congress to ban the entry of Black people from the
8 Caribbean, which they asserted were “a species of population too obnoxious to be tolerated.”
9 In the decades preceding the Civil War, the staunchly pro-slavery J. D. B. DeBow, a New Orleans
10 journalist, argued against the importation of Chinese contract laborers, known as “coolies,” labeling
11 them “half savages and half-civilized idolators.”²⁰ Congress acceded to these demands by passing
12 the 1862 Anti-Coolie Act, barring entry of Chinese contract laborers.²¹ And then, in 1882, Congress
13 prohibited the entry of all Chinese laborers in the Chinese Exclusion Act. Senator John F. Miller, a
14 California Republican introduced the bill to exclude Chinese immigrants, comparing them to an
15 invading army and calling the Chinese a “degraded and inferior race.”²² The demonization of
16 Chinese immigrants would continue in the decades that followed. Furthermore, racist tropes about
17 the Chinese eating cats, dogs, and rats were used to dehumanize them and garner support for anti-
18 Chinese legislation. In his 1888 presidential campaign, Grover Cleveland distributed trading cards
19 depicting cartoonish images of Chinese eating rats, eerily echoing Donald Trump’s false claims
20 about Haitians eating cats and dogs in Ohio.²³

21 ¹⁹ A Bill to Establish a Uniform Rule of Naturalization, and Enable Aliens to Hold Lands under
22 Certain Conditions; 3/4/1790; (SEN1A-C1); Bills and Resolutions Originating in the House and
23 Considered in the Senate, 1789 - 2002; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National
24 Archives Building, Washington, DC. [Online Version,
25 <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/naturalization-act-of-1790>, February 15, 2025].

26 ²⁰ Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane : Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation*
(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 30.

27 ²¹ Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII*
(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 102.

28 ²² Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic
Books, 2019), 90-92.

²³ Claire Wang, “‘A Very Old Political Trope’: The Racist US History Behind Trump’s Haitian Pet
Eater Claim,” *Guardian*, Sept. 14, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2024/sep/14/racist-history-trump-pet-eating-immigrant>.

22. Immigration restrictionists continued to employ racist ideology to justify their positions in the 1920's. The 1924 Johnson Reed Act established immigration quotas based on national origins. The government chose the 1890 Census as a baseline to reduce the number of Eastern and Southern Europeans and Jews allowed into the country. One of the Bill's sponsors, Senator David Reed (R-Pennsylvania), exclaimed, "We have closed the doors just in time to prevent our Nordic population being overrun by lower races." Reed also wanted to keep out Black people migrating from the West Indies.²⁴ Eugenicist Harry Laughlin served as an expert advisor to the House Committee on Immigration during the process. The Act also continued to exclude Asians and established minimal quotas for other countries. In an unpublished sequel to *Mein Kampf*, Adolph Hitler praised the 1924 Immigration Act as a valiant effort to exclude the "foreign body" of "strangers to the blood" of the ruling race."²⁵ A few years later, during a debate over the Undesirable Aliens Act of 1929 (which created the offense of illegal reentry after deportation), Congressman Charles Edwards of Georgia made it clear that he believed Mexican immigrants were criminals, diseased, and "scum." As he said, "As a rule they are not the better or higher-type Mexicans, but generally of the less desirable type, and in many cases the criminal and diseased element. Something must be done to stop this. . . . This ignorant and undesirable element pouring into the United States from Mexico, not only do not understand American ideals, but many of them come into our country with hatred in their hearts for America and Americans. . . . Let's be just and fair to our own Republic and not poison her institutions with the riff-raff and scum of other countries who will not, and can not, from the very nature of things, become one of us because they have no conception of Americanism."²⁶ In the debates over this bill, Texas Congressman John Box similarly asserted that Mexicans were linked to criminality and disease. "They are badly infected with tuberculosis and

²⁴ As cited in Kelly Lytle Hernandez, "The Whites-Only Immigration Regime," *Western Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2025): 3, 8.

²⁵ As cited in Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 143.

²⁶ Eric Fish, "Race, History and Immigration Crimes," *Iowa Law Review* 107 (2022), p. 1087, <https://ilr.law.uiowa.edu/sites/ilr.law.uiowa.edu/files/2022-11/Race%2C%20History%2C%20and%20Immigration%20Crimes.pdf>.

1 other diseases; there are many paupers among them; there are many criminals; they work for lower
2 wages; they are as objectionable as immigrants when tried by the tests applied to other aliens.”²⁷
3 Historian Kelly Lytle Hernandez summed up the results this way: “By the end of the 1920s, federal
4 authorities had banned, capped, curbed, deterred, and criminalized almost all non-White immigration
5 to the United States. The U.S. immigration system barred almost all Asian immigration, slashed
6 arrivals from southern and eastern Europe, criminalized the informal border crossings most-
7 commonly made by Mexicans, and even reversed Black immigration to the United States.”²⁸

8 23. In addition to laws to prevent entry of certain racialized groups, politicians and
9 eugenics-minded public health officials linked immigrants to disease and mental illness. Howard
10 Knox, the assistant surgeon at Ellis Island and a member of the Eugenics Research Association,
11 warned in 1913 about allowing in “morons”, who, he asserted, “will immediately start a line of
12 defectives whose progeny, like a brook, will go on forever, branching off her in an imbecile and
13 there in an epileptic.”²⁹ In 1917, the Public Health Service in El Paso responded to a Typhus
14 outbreak by stripping naked Mexican immigrants and forcing them into fumigation baths where they
15 were showered with kerosene.³⁰

16 24. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act in some ways took a step forward by
17 eliminating the absolute prohibition on Asian immigration, but in many ways this act reinscribed
18 many of the racist restrictions that had been part of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act and earlier Asian
19 exclusions. Racist ideology and language were again used to justify its provisions. The Bill’s co-
20 sponsor Patrick McCarran, a Democrat from Nevada, explained that Congress needed to preserve the
21 Western European composition of the United States. “The cold hard truth is that in the United States
22 today there are hard-core, indigestible blocks who have not become integrated into the American
23

24
25 ²⁷ Benjamin Gonzalez O’Brien, “‘A Very Great Penalty’: Mexican Immigration, Race, and 8 U.S.C.
26 § 1326,” *Maryland Journal of International Law*, Vol. 37, issue 1, article 5 (2022), p. 45,
<https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/mjil/vol37/iss1/5>.

27 ²⁸ Hernandez, “The Whites-Only Immigration Regime,” 8.

28 ²⁹ Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System in the World*, 69.

³⁰ Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 59-61.

1 way of life.”³¹ Other congressional representatives pointed out the racism of the bill. Representative
2 Powell criticized the Asian quota and also the limitation on people born in Trinidad, Jamaica, and
3 other West Indian colonies, arguing that it “perpetuates certain objectionable racist features.” As
4 Powell put it, “The 1924 law early achieved notoriety for the racist sentiments which engendered it
5 and the Ku Klux Klan support which insured its passage. The McCarran-Walter bills perpetuate the
6 obvious racist discrimination, and by so doing reaffirm a bias against Negro immigration which
7 should have been repudiated long ago.”³²

8 25. The same kinds of racist justifications for immigration restrictions continued in the
9 1980’s and 1990’s, as the government detained and deported dramatically increasing numbers of
10 immigrants. One exemplar comes from the Cuban Mariel refugees, who were stigmatized as
11 mentally ill and violent criminals. President Jimmy Carter accused Fidel Castro of emptying his jails
12 and mental hospitals and sending the worst of the worst to the United States. “We will not permit our
13 country to be used as a dumping ground for criminals who represent a danger to our society, and we
14 will begin exclusion proceedings against these people at once.”³³ In 1981, the Democrat Governor of
15 Florida, Bob Graham, also expressed the idea that Mariel Cubans were criminals, stating, “Since the
16 Federal Government was unwilling to enforce the immigration laws when illegal criminal aliens
17 entered our country last summer, it must take responsibility for expelling those individuals now.”³⁴
18 In the Mariel case, while some Cubans had criminal backgrounds or histories of mental illness, the
19 stigma attached to the entire group of 125,000, the vast majority of whom did not have such
20 backgrounds.³⁵

21 26. These are just a few of many, many examples of the racist ideology and rhetoric that
22 has been used to justify attacks on immigrant groups seen as non-white throughout U.S. history.

23 ³¹ Erika Lee, *America for Americans: A History of Xenophobia in the United States* (New York:
24 Basic Books, 2019), 227.

25 ³² Congressional Record 98 (1952): 4435, 4438.

26 ³³ Jimmy Carter, “White House Statement on the Administration Policy Toward the Cuban
27 Refugees,” May 14, 1980, The American Presidency Project,
28 <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/white-house-statement-the-administration-policy-toward-the-cuban-refugees>.

³⁴ As cited in Alexander M. Stephens, “Making Migrants ‘Criminal’: The Mariel Boatlift, Miami,
and U.S. Immigration Policy, *Anthurium*, Vol. 17, issue 2 (2021), Article 4, p. 1.

³⁵ Young, *Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the Largest Immigrant Detention System
in the World*, 125.

1 There have been ebbs and flows in the law and policy governing deportations over the last 140 years,
2 but the criminalization and dehumanization of unwanted immigrants is a constant thread that weaves
3 its way through this history.

4 **V. Stigmatization of Venezuelan Immigrants**

5 27. The statements made recently by President Trump and Secretary Noem fit
6 comfortably into this historical pattern. During the 2024 electoral campaign, then-candidate Donald
7 Trump drew on and continued this racist history by painting a picture of Venezuelan migrants as
8 dangerous criminals. In one interview, Trump said, “Look at what’s happening with some of these
9 towns that are being talked about all over the world, but in a very horrible way, occupied by
10 members of savage prison gangs from Venezuela.” In the same interview, Trump further
11 asserted falsely that the Venezuelan government had sent the criminal migrants to the United
12 States. As Trump put it, “In Venezuela, their crime rate went down 72%. You know why? -
13 because they took the criminals out of Caracas, and they put them along your border. And they
14 said, if you ever come back, we’re going to kill you.”³⁶ The news organization *Axios* analyzed
15 Trump’s speeches, interviews, debates, and rallies between September 1, 2023 and October 2, 2024,
16 finding that Trump made 70 references to Venezuelans as criminals.³⁷ The reelected president’s pick
17 to lead the Department of Homeland Security, Kristi Noem, has repeatedly echoed the “Venezuela
18 sending criminals” talking point.³⁸

19 ³⁶ “Trump Calls Venezuelan Migrants Criminals,” NPR, Oct. 21, 2024,
20 <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/nx-s1-5068689>.

21 ³⁷ Russel Contreras, Delano Massey and Erin Davis, “Trump Keeps Calling Venezuelan and
22 Congolese Migrants Criminals,” *Axios*, Oct. 5, 2024, [https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-](https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric)
23 [migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric](https://www.axios.com/2024/10/05/trump-migrants-venezuelan-congolese-rhetoric)

24 ³⁸ @KristiNoem, X (Feb. 26, 2024, 11:19 AM),
25 <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762195636491825295> (“Nations like Venezuela are emptying
26 their prisons of dangerous criminals to send them to America. They are happy to let America’s open
27 border be the solution to their problem.”); @KristiNoem, X (Feb. 27, 2024, 5:26 PM),
28 <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762650522920652828> (Venezuela didn’t send us their best. They
emptied their prisons and sent criminals to America.”); @KristiNoem, Instagram, Mar. 6, 2024,
<https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/C4ML17eRBYr/> (“Countries like Venezuela are
emptying their prisons, their mental institutions, and sending them to America. The White House is
facilitating this invasion. They’re doing it on purpose.”); @KristiNoem, X (Mar. 14, 2024, 9:24
AM), <https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1768312288560247199> (“At least 300,000 illegal immigrants
from Venezuela have been encountered at the border. Remember, Venezuela emptied their prisons

1 28. There is no evidence substantiating these assertions.³⁹ In fact, TPS applicants go
2 through criminal background checks and are disqualified if they have one felony or two
3 misdemeanors.⁴⁰

4 29. In the order terminating 2023 TPS status for Venezuelans and accompanying public
5 statements, Secretary Noem has repeatedly alleged connections between them and the criminal gang
6 Tren de Aragua (TdA). She has also repeatedly called Venezuelan immigrants “dirtbags.” For
7 example, in her January 29, 2025 interview announcing the termination, Secretary Noem stated that
8 ending TPS for Venezuelans is necessary in order to “evaluate all of these individuals that are in our
9 country, including the Venezuelans that are here and members of TdA” She also stated that “the
10 American people . . . want these dirtbags out of the country.”⁴¹ At her confirmation hearing,
11 Secretary Noem said: “this extension [of TPS] of over 600,000 Venezuelans [] is alarming when we
12 look at what we’ve seen in different states including Colorado with gangs doing damage and
13 harming the individuals and the people that live there.”⁴² Further, her termination notice cited
14 President Trump’s “policy imperatives” and pointed to his Executive Order 14157 designating the
15 Tren de Aragua and other groups as Foreign Terrorist Organizations.⁴³ If there was any significant
16 criminal involvement by any of 600,000 TPS-holding Venezuelans and the Tren de Aragua or any

17 and told them to come to America.”); @KristiNoem, Instagram (Dec. 9, 2024),
18 <https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/DDVjJnURRqw/> (“[N]ations like Venezuela are using
19 our open border to solve their own crime and mental health crises.”). But see Jorge Valencia, *Trump*
20 *Says Venezuela Sends Criminals to the U.S. Here’s What to Know*, N.Y. TIMES, July 31, 2024,
21 <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/world/americas/trump-crime-venezuela-us.html> (describing
22 the lack of any evidence for the assertion that Venezuela is emptying prisons and expelling prisoners
23 to the United States, and considering it “highly unlikely”).

24 ³⁹ Sofia Ahmed, No, the FBI Did Not say Venezuela Sent its Prison Population to the U.S.,
25 PolitiFact (Apr. 4, 2024), <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2024/apr/04/instagram-posts/no-the-fbi-did-not-say-venezuela-sent-its-prison-p/>.

26 ⁴⁰ 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(c)(2)(B)(i).

27 ⁴¹ FOX AND FRIENDS, *DHS Sec. Noem Announces End to Temporary Protected Status for Venezuelan*
28 *Migrants*, Jan. 29, 2025,
<https://www.foxnews.com/video/6367942790112?msocid=30416397acd261bf24f1707bad686037>.

⁴² C-SPAN, *Homeland Security Secretary Nominee Gov. Kristi Noem Testifies at Confirmation*
Hearing, Jan. 17, 2025, <https://www.c-span.org/program/senate-committee/homeland-security-secretary-nominee-gov-kristi-noem-testifies-at-confirmation-hearing/654484>.

⁴³ US Citizenship and Immigration Services, “Termination of the October 3, 2023 Designation of
Venezuela Temporary Protected Status,” Federal Register, Feb. 5, 2025,
<https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/02/05/2025-02294/termination-of-the-october-3-2023-designation-of-venezuela-for-temporary-protected-status>.

1 other criminal organization, they would be ineligible for TPS status. Instead, what President Trump
2 and Secretary Noem have done is stigmatize hundreds of thousands of Venezuelan migrants with the
3 criminal behavior of a few individuals who are most likely not among the TPS-protected group.

4 30. In his Republican Convention speech in July 2024, Donald Trump invoked the
5 rhetoric about the Mariel Cubans, falsely claiming that migration from Latin America, Africa, Asia
6 and the Middle East, amounted to “the greatest invasion in history.” As Trump put it, “They’re
7 coming from prisons. They’re coming from jails. They’re coming from mental institutions and
8 insane asylums. . . . They’re emptying out their insane asylums. And terrorists at numbers that we’ve
9 never seen before. Bad things are going to happen.”⁴⁴ Trump has also repeatedly referred to
10 Venezuelan TPS holders as “animals,” and even defended the practice.⁴⁵ For example, President
11 Trump said about some undocumented immigrants during a March 2024 rally, “I don’t know if you
12 call them people. In some cases they’re not people, in my opinion, but I’m not allowed to say
13 that[.]”⁴⁶ He has also repeatedly decried nonwhite immigrants for “poisoning the blood of our
14 country.”⁴⁷

15 31. These statements are all fundamentally similar to those utilized by racist immigration
16 restrictionists in prior eras. Here, the stigmatized group is 600,000 Venezuelan TPS holders.

17 **VI. Conclusion**

18 32. The political and economic crisis in Venezuela has only become more extreme in the
19 last few years. Although GDP has rebounded and inflation has come down, GDP is still just a fourth
20 of what it was in 2012 and inflation is currently around 60% a year. President Maduro has

21 _____
22 ⁴⁴ “Read the Transcript of Donald J. Trump’s Convention Speech,” *New York Times*, July 19, 2024,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/trump-rnc-speech-transcript.html>.

23 ⁴⁵ Miriam Valverde, *In Context: Donald Trump’s comments about immigrations, ‘animals’*,
24 POLITIFACT (May 17, 2018), available at <https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2018/may/17/context-donald-trumps-comments-about-immigrants-an/> (relying on MS-13 to claim that undocumented immigrants “aren’t people. These are animals.”).

25 ⁴⁶ Ariana Figueroa, *Trump Promises Mass Deportations of Undocumented People. How Would That Work?*, MISSOURI INDEPENDENT (Aug. 23, 2024), available at
26 <https://missouriindependent.com/2024/08/23/trump-promises-mass-deportations-of-undocumented-people-how-would-that-work/>.

27 ⁴⁷ *Donald Trump on Illegal Immigrants ‘Poisoning the Blood of Our Country’*, C-SPAN (Dec. 16,
28 2023), available at <https://www.c-span.org/clip/campaign-2024/donald-trump-on-illegal-immigrants-poisoning-the-blood-of-our-country/5098439>.

1 consolidated his rule, stealing the election in July 2024 and violently repressing opponents of the
2 regime. This is the situation that has led so many Venezuelans to flee the country.

3 33. As a group, Venezuelan immigrants are better educated and participate more in the
4 labor force than either other immigrants or native-born U.S. citizens. However, there has been a
5 demographic shift in the last 25 years between the older arrivals, who are wealthier and whiter, and
6 the new arrivals who are poorer and darker. That racial divide is at the heart of the stereotypes about
7 new Venezuelan migrants as criminals and gang members. While there is no evidence that
8 Venezuelan migrants are disproportionately criminal, and plenty of evidence that immigrants in
9 general are less likely to commit crimes than native-born U.S. citizens, the TPS holders are by
10 definition people with neither a felony conviction nor more than one misdemeanor, due to the TPS
11 statute's eligibility requirements. The irresponsible and unfounded comments by politicians and
12 other officials about Venezuelan immigrant criminality should not be used as an excuse to rescind
13 TPS protections for Venezuelans. Rather, they should be understood within the context of a long
14 history of racist dehumanizing tropes characterizing immigrants as diseased, mentally ill, and
15 criminals.

16 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
17 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

18
19 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in PORTLAND, OREGON.

20
21
22 /s/ Elliott Young
23 Elliott Young
24
25
26
27
28

APPENDIX A

Elliott Young

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Education

University of Texas, Austin	Ph.D.	Dept. of History, August 1997
University of Texas, Austin	M.A.	Dept. of History, May 1993
Princeton University	B.A.	Dept. of History, Latin American Studies Summa Cum Laude, June 1989

Academic Positions

Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, May 2014- present
Associate Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, September 2003 – 2014
Assistant Professor of History, Lewis & Clark College, August 1997- August 2003
Chair of History department, Lewis & Clark College, July 2009- July 2011, July 2012- June 2013
Director, Latin American Studies Minor, Lewis & Clark College, Aug. 1998- July 2007, Jan.-July 2009
Director, Ethnic Studies Minor, Lewis & Clark College, August 2006- July 2011, July 2015- July 2018,
Jan. 2020-July 2020

Co-Founder /Treasurer Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, 2003- present

Co-founder of institute that brings together scholars from North and Latin America to discuss transnational history for a weeklong workshop in Tepoztlán, Mexico. I directed Institute for first five years, and now serve as its treasurer. Organized programs, raised funds to run institute, and recruited participants. The Institute hosts approximately eighty scholars from Latin and North America. Yearly budget of \$50,000.

Founder and Director, [Migration Scholar Collaborative](#) (MiSC), 2021- present.

Co-Director of [Stanford Migration & Asylum Lab](#), 2023- present.

Scholarly Publications

Books

Forever Prisoners: How the United States Made the World's Largest Detention System, Oxford University Press, January 2021.

Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era to WWII, University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 360 pages.

Honorable mention for the 2016 **Lucas Tomassini Award** for International Relations by the Latin American Studies Association.

Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border, Duke University Press, 2004. 407 pages.

Winner of the 2005 **Kate Broocks Bates Award** for the best book on Texas history up to 1900, awarded by the Texas State Historical Association (\$3000 award)

Winner of the 2006 **Jim Parrish Award** by the Webb County Heritage Foundation for documentation and publication of local or regional history

Co-editor, *Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History*, Duke University Press, 2004. 344 pages.

Co-author of Introduction, "Making Transnational History: Nations, Regions and Borderlands."

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Co-authored with Ramón Gutiérrez, "Transnationalizing Border History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 2010): 27-53. Nominated for best article of the year by *WHQ*.

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Co-authored introduction with Pamela Voekel for a special issue on Transnational History of the Americas, *Social Text*, Vol. 25, No. 392 (fall 2007): 9-18.

"Red Men, Princess Pocahontas, and George Washington: Harmonizing Race Relations in Laredo at the Turn of the Century," *Western Historical Quarterly*, spring 1998, pp. 48-85.

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"Beyond Borders: Remote Control in the New Global Era," in eds. Maddalena Marrinari, Madeline Hsu and Maria Cristina Garcia, *A Nation of Immigrants Reconsidered: US Society in an Age of Restriction 1924 to 1965* (University of Illinois Press, 2019): 25-44.

"The Panic Over Human Smuggling: From the Nineteenth Century Coolie Trade to Today's Migrants," in ed. Micol Seigel, *Panic, Transnational Cultural Studies, and the Affective Contours of Power* (Routledge, 2018): 108-27.

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Editor for Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Migration Studies, 2024.

Co-written with Ana Minian, Maria Cristina García and Katherine Wackett, “2023 Cuba Country Conditions Bulletin,” Stanford Migration & Asylum Lab, Nov. 2023, 33 pages,
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Book Reviews

"Tending the Fire," review essay of Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire and Revolution in the Borderlands*, *Labor: Studies in Working Class History*, Vol. 20, issue 3, p. 69-73.

Review of Elaine A. Peña. *¡Viva George! Celebrating Washington's Birthday at the US-Mexico Border*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Volume 125, Number 1, July 2021, pp. 116-117.

Review of Adam Goodman. *The Deportation Machine: America's Long History of Expelling Immigrants*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Volume 124, Number 2, October 2020: 230-232.

Review of Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Inventing the Immigration Problem: The Dillingham Commission and Its Legacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018. *Journal of American History*. June 2019: 87.

Review of Beth Lew-Williams. *The Chinese Must Go: Exclusion and the Making of the Alien in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018. *Journal of American Ethnic History*. Winter 2019: 117-118.

Review of *Lynching of Mexicans in the Texas Borderlands*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017. *Journal of Southern History*. Vol. 84, No. 4. Nov. 2018: 1033-34.

Review of Devyn Spence Benson. *Antiracism in Cuba: The Unfinished Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016. *The Americas*. Vol. 4, issue 4, Oct. 2017.

Review of David Scott Fitzgerald and David Cook-Martin. *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014. *Journal of American History*. June 2016: 245-46.

Review of Elaine Carey. *Women Drug Traffickers: Mules, Bosses & Organized Crime*. Albuquerque:

University of New Mexico, 2014. *American Historical Review*, Feb. 2016.

Review of Kathleen López. *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (2015), Vol. 34, No. 2: 256-57.

Review of Robert Chao Romero. *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (2014): 381-82.

Review of Nicole Guidotti-Hernández. *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping the US and Mexican National Imaginaries*. Duke University Press, 2011. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (2014), Vol. 33, No. 2: 249-50.

Review of John McKiernan González. *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848-1942*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. *Journal of American History*, Vol. 100 (2013): 234-35.

Review of *Bridging National Borders in North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories*. Eds. Benjamin H. Johnson and Andrew R Graybill. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. *Journal of American History*, (2011) 97 (4): 1095-1096.

Review of *Nation and Migration: Past and Future*. Eds. David G. Gutiérrez and Pierrette Honagneu-Sotelo. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. *Western Historical Quarterly*, 41 (Winter 2010): 495-96.

Review of Mauro Garcia Triana & Pedro Eng Herrera, *The Chinese in Cuba, 1847-Now* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 30, Issue 1 (Jan. 2011): 118-119.

Review of Lisa Yun. *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008. *Labor* 6(4) (2009): 142-144.

“Rethinking the Americas in a Globalized World: Connections and Divisions,” a review of Sandhya Shukla and Heidi Tinsman, eds. *Imagining Our Americas: Toward a Transnational Frame*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, in *A Contracorriente* Vol. 6, No. 2, Winter 2009, 297-306.

Review of Jerry Thompson. *Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007). *Western Historical Quarterly*, Winter 2008, p. 513-514.

Review of Samuel Truett. *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006. *The Americas*, Vol. 64, No. 1, (July 2007): 107-108.

Review of Raymond Craib. *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol. 38, No. 1 (summer 2007): 163-164.

Review of Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon, editors. *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. *American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 5 (Dec. 2006).

Review of Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler. *Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade*, by. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. *The American Historical Review* (October 2005): 1197-1198.

Review of Andrés Reséndez. *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. *The Americas*, Volume 62, Number 1, (July 2005):119-120.

Review of María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo. *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. *Symposium*. Vol.59, No. 3 (2006): 187-189.

Review of Benjamin Heber Johnson. *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 71, No. 1, Feb. 2005, 195-196.

Review of Arnolando de León. *Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. *The Americas* 61.2 (2004): 306-30.

Review of John Hart. *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War*. Berkeley: Univ. of California, 2002. *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2003):383-84.

Review of *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940*, Eds., Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001. *The Historian*, 65:6 (Winter 2003): 1422.

Review of Louis Gerard Mendoza. *Historia: The Literary making of Chicano and Chicana History*. College Station: Texas A&M, 2001. *Pacific Historical Review*, 71:4 (Nov. 2002), 678-680.

Review of Gunther Peck. *Reinventing Free Labor: Padres and Padrones in the North American West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, summer 2001.

Review of David E. Lorey. *The US-Mexican Border in the Twentieth Century*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 81:2 (May 2001), 432-33.

Review of *Culture y Cultura: Consequences of the US-Mexican War, 1846-1848*. Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 1998. *Pacific Historical Review*, August 2000.

Review of Richard W. Slatta. *Comparing Cowboys and Frontiers*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1997. *Western Historical Quarterly*, summer 1998.

Review of Ward S. Albro. *To Die on Your Feet: The Life, Times and Writings of Práxedes G. Guerrero*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1996. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, fall 1997.

Review of Silvia Spitta. *Between Two Waters: Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America*. Houston: Rice University, 1995. *H-Latam*, October, 1996.

Review of *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Ed. by Oscar J. Martínez. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1996. *H-Latam*, March 1996.

Opinion Columns in Newspapers and Magazines

["What the Mexican President Could Learn from the 19th c. Mexican Journalist He Idolizes,"](#) *Time*, April 9, 2024.

["Locking up the mentally ill has a long history,"](#) *Washington Post*, Jan. 3, 2023.

["Like the 19th-century U.S., Putin seized separatist claims to expand his empire,"](#) *Washington Post*, Mar. 4, 2022.

Co-written with Jason Renaud, ["20 years after Mejía Poot killing, we still lack enough alternatives to police,"](#) *Oregonian*, Mar., 31, 2021.

["Immigrant Families are the Second Casualty of War,"](#) *History News Network*, Feb. 14, 2021.

["Immigration Cruelty Didn't Start with Trump. Will it End Under Biden?"](#) *Washington Post*, Dec. 10, 2020.

["Trump just adding fuel to fire set by Portland's Democratic leaders,"](#) *Houston Chronicle*, July 22, 2020.

["SCOTUS's Thuraissigiam Decision is a Threat to all Undocumented Immigrants,"](#) *History News Network*, July 19, 2020.

Co-written with Lakayana Drury and Marcia Perez, ["Defund the Police and Refund the Community,"](#) *Oregonian*, June 10, 2020.

["Police Reform Must Go Beyond Substantial Compliance,"](#) *Oregonian*, Mar. 8, 2020.

["Immigration Restriction by Remote Control,"](#) *History News Network*, Mar. 31, 2019.

Co-written with Sarah Iannarone, ["Put Hardesty in Charge of the Police Bureau,"](#) *Portland Tribune*, Mar. 12, 2019,

["Numerous Reports Confirm Stark Racial Disparities in Portland Criminal Justice System,"](#) *Injustice Today*, Nov. 15, 2017.

["Four Things Mayor Ted Wheeler Can Do Today to Make Portland Less Racist,"](#) *HuffPost*, June 2, 2017.

["Sanctuary in Name Only,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, April 2017.

["Safe Space for Hate Group at Lewis & Clark College,"](#) *HuffPost*, Apr. 14, 2017.

["Felons and Families,"](#) *UNC Press Blog*, Immigration series, April 3, 2017.

["Sanctuary for All in Portland,"](#) *HuffPost*, Mar. 24, 2017.

["The Hard Truths about Obama's Deportation Policies,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Mar. 1, 2017,

["Sanctuary in the Trump Era,"](#) *NACLA*, Feb. 3, 2017,

["Trump's Immigration Orders Signal End of Civil Rights Era,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Jan. 31, 2017.

["On Sanctuary: What is in a Name?"](#) *Huffington Post*, Dec. 2, 2016.

["Colleges and Universities Should Become Sanctuaries for the Undocumented,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Nov. 13, 2016.

["Unrooted Epiphytes,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, Spring 2016.

["Threat to Black Students in Portland is Real,"](#) Nov. 23, 2015, *Huffington Post*.

["Do Black Students' Lives Matter in Portland?"](#) *Huffington Post*, Nov. 19, 2015.

["We Can Do More for Syrian Refugees,"](#) *Huffington Post*, Sept. 13, 2015.

["The Problem with the Immigration Problem,"](#) *Oregon Humanities*, Spring 2015.

["The Problem with the Immigration Problem,"](#) *Utne Reader*, Fall 2015.

["President Obama got it half right on immigration,"](#) *Portland Tribune*, Dec. 11, 2014.

["The Campaign to Keep Millions of Immigrants in Detention Doesn't Even Stand up to Sixteenth Century Standards of Natural Rights,"](#) *History News Network*, Nov. 18, 2014.

["The US Should Make Legal Immigration Easier,"](#) *Oregonian*, November 11, 2014.

["Mandatory ICE Detainers are Unconstitutional,"](#) *Oregonian*, May 4, 2014.

Co-written with Micol Seigel, ["Privatization is a Road to Nowhere,"](#) *Quartz*, August 9, 2013.

["Keeping the Dream Alive for Immigrants,"](#) *Oregonian*, Oct. 1, 2010.

"Newcomers help economy so let's treat them humanely," *Oregonian*, Mar. 1, 2008.

"The Federal War on Immigrants is a War on All Workers, published by the *History News Network*, 29 June 2007, Pub. as "Immigration Raids Hurt ALL Workers, *Connecticut Post*, 7/1/07; "The Ground War Against Workers' Rights," *Oregonian*, 7/2/07; "US War on Immigrants is War on All Workers," [CAN] Owen Sound Sun Times, 7/10/07.

"A Decisive Day for Democracy in Venezuela and the US," published by *History News Network*, August 8, 2004, and picked up by newspapers in Rhode Island and Oregon.

Professional Conferences, Invited Lectures and Keynotes

2024 "Analyzing Police Reforms in Portland," Policing Justice Symposium, Feb. 28, 2024

"The Origins and Future of Asylum: Applying the Liberal Arts in the Real World," Migration Symposium, Pacific University, March 22, 2024.

“Forever Prisoners: How the United Made the World’s Largest Immigrant Detention System,” Pomona College, March 28, 2024.

“The Border Crisis is Political Theater for Both Parties,” Oregon Consular Corps, April 12, 2024.

“Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Uprising in United States History,” Carcerality and Resistance conference, University of Edinburgh, May 22-24, 2024.

Keynote address “Resistance to Detention: Mariel Cuban Refugees’ Prison Uprisings,” at Camps, Carceral Imaginaries and Critical Interventions Conference, Graz, Austria, May 30-June 2, 2024.

Chair, “Camouflaging Carcerality and Climate Change in the U.S.–Mexico and Sunbelt Borderlands,” Latin American Studies Association, June 13, 2024, Bogota, Colombia.

Presenter at “Expert Witness Training,” Center for Gender and Race Studies (CGRS), University of California Law School, Aug. 20, 2024.

“History of Immigration Policy,” League of Women Voters, Portland, Oct. 9, 2024.

2023 Panelist for virtual symposium, “Whose America? A Reevaluation of U.S Immigration Policy since 1980,” Cornell University, Sept. 1, 2023.

“Mariel ‘Excludables’: More than the Worst Thing They Ever Did,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, July 2023, Tepoztlán, Mexico.

“The Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Origins of Crimmigration,” Organization of American Historians, Mar. 30, 2023, Los Angeles.

2022 “History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” AILA Oregon, keynote address, Sept. 21, 2022, Portland, Oregon.

“History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” XVI Reunión Internacional de Historiadores de México, Nov. 1, 2022, Austin, Texas.

“Wong Foon Chuck: su mundo transfronterizo y antichinismo en la revolución Mexicana,” Presentación magistral for the Cátedra Celsa Garza Guajardo, May 13, 2022, Monterrey, Mexico.

2021 “Catarino Garza y su revolución fronteriza,” keynote lecture for Letras e ideas sobre el Porfiriato y la Revolución coloquio 2021, Nov. 18, 2021, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico.

“Wong Foon Chuck: su mundo transfronterizo y antichinismo en la revolución Mexicana,” presentation for Letras e ideas sobre el Porfiriato y la Revolución coloquio 2021, Nov. 17, 2021, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico.

“History of Racism in Immigration Restrictions and Illegal Entry Charge,” Continuing Legal Education lecture, Arizona, Oct. 1, 2021.

“Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Organization of American Historians, April 15-17, 2021.

“Immigrant Detention—History, Rights and What’s Next?” Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, Jan. 25, 2021.

“How the United States Made the World’s Largest Immigrant Detention System,” Seattle Town Hall, 20 Jan. 2021.

2019 “Radical Histories of Sanctuary,” Roundtable, American Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, 9 Nov. 2019.

“The Excludables: Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 29 July 2019.

“The Excludables: Mariel Cuban Refugees and the Longest Prison Takeover in the United States,” Latin American, Latina/o and Iberian Studies (LALISA) conference, 12 Apr. 2019.

“Rethinking 1924-1965 in US Immigration History for Today’s World,” Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 5, 2019.

“Transborder Migrants and their Multiple National Loyalties,” Roundtable Presidential Panel, “Loyalties and Migration in World/Atlantic History,” American Historical Association, Chicago, 4 Jan. 2019.

2018 “Excluding the Others: Resistance and Collaboration between Mexico and the United States” XV Reunión Internacional de Historiadores de México, Guadalajara, Mexico, Oct. 17-20, 2018.

2017 (I) Invited speaker, UNESCO, First International Forum on Migration and Cultural Rights, May 3-5, 2017, Ciudad Juárez, Mexico.

“Policing Migrants Across the Americas: From WWII Enemy Alien Concentration Camps to Trump’s Border Wall,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, Lima, Peru, Apr. 27-29, 2017.

“History as Empire Colonizing the Other Disciplines,” Asian American Studies Association, Portland, April 13, 2017.

2016 “Extraños en la Nación: Migraciones chinas en las Americas en el siglo XIX y XX,” invited lecture at the UNAM, Mexico City, 6 October 2016.

Presentation of “Beyond Borders: Remote Control and the New Global Order,” at Nación y Alteridad seminar, Mexico City.

“50 years of Mexican Immigration to the United States, from Hart-Cellar to the Present,” Roundtable at Latin American Studies Association Congress, New York City, 28 May 2016.

“Transnational Deportation Regimes: Collaborations and Conflict between the United States, Mexico and Cuba in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” Webb Lectures Series, University of Texas, Arlington, invited lecture, 9 Mar 2016.

“Contracting Freedom: Chinese in Cuba, Peru and Mexico in an Era of Emancipation,” Asia and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, invited lecture, 19 Feb. 2016.

“Liberalism, Human Rights and the Politics of Exclusion,” Keynote address for Latin American Studies Graduate Student Conference, Tulane University, 29 Jan. 2016.

“McNeil Island Prison as a Site of Migrant Incarceration,” American Historical Association, 9 Jan. 2016.

“Borderlands State of Field,” Council on Latin American History, 8 Jan. 2016.

2015 “Columbus Was Right: Asia is in the Americas After All,” Immigrant America: New Immigration Histories from 1965 to 2015, University of Minnesota, 23 Oct. 2015.

Borderlands Roundtable, American Studies Association, Toronto, 8 Oct. 2015.

“Detention and Deportation: Aliens in the Carceral Machine,” Pacific Solutions? Contexts, consequences, and legacies of Asian migration and deportation in the USA and Australia, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia, invited lecture, 13 Aug. 2015.

“Beyond Borders: Remote Control and the New Global Order,” Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 28 July 2015.

“No Yellow in Cuban Color: Chinese in the Cuban Imaginary,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico, 30 May 2015.

“Unrooted Epiphytes: Conceptualizing Aliens in an era of Mass Incarceration and Global Policing,” Managing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Conference on American Immigration Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, Columbia University, Society of Fellows, April 3-4, 2015. Invited participant.

2014

“Alien Nation: Chinese Crossings in the US-Mexico Borderlands and Beyond,” American Historical Association, Washington DC, 2 Jan. 2014.

“Borderlands: State of the Field,” American Historical Association, Washington DC, 4 Jan. 2014,

“Contracting Freedom: Coolies in Cuba and Peru in the Age of Freedom,” University of Oregon, Transnational Americas Speakers Series, 29 Jan. 2014.

“Chinese Migratory Networks in the Americas,” Latin American Studies Association Congress, Chicago, 23 May 2014.

Chair, “Roundtable: Asians in the Americas: Migratory Circuits, Sexuality, and Gender” American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, Portland, OR, 14 August 2014.

“Roundtable: New Directions on Studies of Asians in the Americas,” Asians in the Americas Conference, Rutgers University, October 3, 2014.

“Saving the Chinese Coolies: Moral Panics and Human Smuggling,” Global Moral Panics conference, Indiana, University, 10 October 2014.

Alien Nation book talk, invited lecture, California State Los Angeles, 5 November 2014.

“The Nation and the Globe: Transnational Policing Regimes in North America,” American Studies Association conference, Los Angeles, 6 November 2014.

2013

“Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas,” University of Puget Sound, Dolliver Seminar on "Borders and the Making of Trans-American Studies: Exploring Transnational and Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies of the Americas," 15 May 2013.

“National Sovereignty Beyond the Nation’s Borders: Chinese Exclusion in Greater North America,” Canadian Historians Association, June 3-5, 2013, Victoria, BC.

“The Rights of Man: Mexican Migration Policy for Chinese from the Porfiriato through the 1930s,” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Washington DC, May 29-June 1.

“Alien Nation: Chinese Migration on the US-Mexico Border,” invited lecture, Northwestern University, Chicago, 25 Apr. 2013.

Invited Commentator, Newberry Library Seminar in Borderlands and Latino History, Chicago, 27 Apr. 2013.

“Catarino Garza’s Writings,” The Mexican American Archival Enterprise at the Benson Latin American Collection: An Historical Appraisal, invited panelist, April 18-19, 2013, University of Texas, Austin.

2012

“Global Borders: Enforcing Asian Exclusion Beyond the Boundary Line,” Borderlands, Migration and Transnational in North America workshop, invited presenter, York University, Toronto, 19-20 Oct. 2012.

“Aliens in the Age of Freedom: Chinese Migration in the Americas, 1840s-1940s,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, San Diego, 10 Aug. 2012.

“Aliens in the Age of Freedom: Chinese Migration in the Americas, 1840s-1940s,”
Tepoztlán Institute, Tepoztlán, Mexico, 3 Aug. 2012.

“Transborder Sovereignities: Chinese, French and British Defense of Chinese ‘Coolies’ in
Cuba,” Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, 26 May 2012.

“Transborder Sovereignty: Chinese “Coolie” Migration to the Americas and the Limits of the
Nation-State,” WCILACS, University of British Columbia, Vancouver BC, 18 May 2012.
“Deportations in an Age of Freedom,” Immigration Forum, Portland, OR, 13 Apr. 2012.
“Narcowars and the Politics of Ungovernability,” World Affairs Council: Great Decisions
Series, Portland, OR, 27 Jan. 2012

2011 “Transborder Sovereignities Beneath the Flag: The Coolie Trade to the Americas,” Tepoztlán
Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, 30 July 2011.

2010 Workshop on New Approaches to Circum-Caribbean History, Latin American Studies
Association International Congress, Toronto, Oct. 6-10, 2010.

“Borderless: Globalization, Migration and Changing Communities,” Oregon Humanities
Conversation Project, 2010-2012

Nancy R. Chandler Visiting Scholar Program, Bend, Oregon, 19 Jan. 2010.
Wilsonville Public Library, 20 Jan. 2010.
Washington County Museum, 19 May 2010.
Milton-Freewater Public Library, 10 Aug. 2010.
Pendleton Public Library, 11 Aug. 2010.
Canby Public Library, 25 Jan. 2011
Midland Branch Library, 31 Jan. 2011
AAUW Beaverton, 3 Feb. 2011
Wilamette University Continuing Education, 15 Feb. 2011
Midland Library, 2 Mar. 2011
City Club of Central Oregon, Bend, 11 May 2011
Springfield Public Library, 12 July 2011
Newport Public Library, 15 Sept. 2011
Tigard Public Library, 27 Oct. 2011
Lower Columbia Diversity Council, Astoria, OR, 8 Mar. 2012
Troutdale Public Library, 14 Mar. 2012
Hood River Public Library, 18 Mar. 2012
Clackamas County Diversity Council, 9 May 2012
Oregon Historical Society, 13 Sept. 2012
Hillsboro Public Library, 27 Sept. 2012

2009 Roundtable Panel on Activism and Scholarship in Mexican History, Conference of Latin
American History, New York City, Jan. 4, 2009.

Roundtable Panel, “Freedom and Bondage in the Circum-Caribbean: Slaves, Free Blacks

and Chinese ‘Coolies,’” Latin American Studies International Congress, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, June 11-14, 2009.

“The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas The First ‘Illegal Aliens,’” Oregon Humanities Chautauqua Lecture:

Willamette University Continuing Education, 29 Jan. 2009.

Osher Lifelong Learning, University of Oregon, Bend, 26 Feb. 2009.

Charbonneau Women’s Association, 9 Mar. 2009.

Vernonia Public Library, 12 Mar. 2009.

Benton County Historical Society, 14 July 2009.

Friends of Historic Champoeg, 26 Sept. 2009.

Gold Beach Public Library, 20 Nov. 2009.

Rose Villa Retirement Community, “Cuba After Castro,” 16 Mar. 2009.

2008 The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas The First “Illegal Aliens,” Oregon Humanities Chautauqua Lecture:

William Kniep Lecture at Pacific University, 29 Sept. 2008.

Tualitin Historical Society, 6 Aug. 2008.

Lincoln County Museum, 8 Nov. 2008.

OASIS, Portland, Oregon. 12 Nov. 2008.

"Transamérica and the Japanese Mojados at the Canadian-Mexican-US Borders," Tepoztlán Institute for Transnational History of the Americas, July 28, 2008, Tepoztlán, Mexico.

2007 “Technologies of Control and Evasion at the Edge of the Nation: Chinese Border Crossings in Greater North America (Cuba, Mexico, US and Canada),” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Sept. 5-8, 2007, Montreal, Canada.

Discussant, “Between and Beyond Nations: The Making of Popular Political Cultures in Latin America” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Sept. 5-8, 2007, Montreal, Canada.

“Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America,” Orientalisms in the Americas working group, Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics, 6th Encuentro, Corpopolíticas: Body Politics in the Americas, Formations of Race, Class and Gender, Buenos Aires, June 8-17, 2007.

Borderlands State of the Field panel, Organization of American Historians Annual Conference, Mar. 29-31, Minneapolis.

2006 Chair, “Hispanicism, Americanism and PanAmericanism in the Age of US Empire,” Latin Americans Studies Association International Congress, Mar. 16-18, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Pettit Memorial Lecture at Colorado College, “Transamérica: Cross-Dressers and Gunslingers in the Borderlands,” March 6.

2005

Discussant and Organizer of “Transnational and National Identities along Borders, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, Aug. 4-7, Corvallis, OR.

“The 19th Century Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America: Transnational Migrant Identities and Nation-State Formation in Cuba, Mexico and the US West,” invited lecturer at Center for Race and Ethnicity,” University of California, San Diego, May 11.

“The Genealogy if Transnational History,” Globalization, Transnationalism and Cultural Studies Conference, hosted by Portland Center for Cultural Studies, May 7, Portland, Oregon.

“Towards a Transnational Epic of Greater America,” Organization of American History, Mar. 31- Apr. 3, San Francisco.

“Catarino Garza’s Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border,” University of Texas-PanAmerican, March 18, Edinburg, Texas.

“Catarino Garza’s Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border,” Museum of South Texas History, March 19, Edinburg, Texas.

2004

“Angustia y Esperanza in Cuba’s Special Period: Abilio Estévez’s ‘El Enano en la Botella’ and Fernando Pérez’s ‘Suite Habana’, Cuba Today Conference, Bildner Center, CUNY, Oct. 4-6, New York City.

“Chinese Migrations in the Greater Caribbean: Pan Chino-Latino Identity?” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Oct. 6-9, Las Vegas.

2003

“Catarino Garza and His Revolution,” South Texas Heritage Symposium, invited lecture, May 17, Alice, Texas.

“Indigestion in the Belly of the Beast: José Martí and Catarino Garza’s Pan-Latin American Identity in the Late Nineteenth-Century Borderlands” Latin American Studies Association International Congress, Mar. 27-29, Dallas, Texas.

“Indigestion in the Belly of the Beast: José Martí and Catarino Garza’s Pan-Latin American Identity in the Late Nineteenth-Century Borderlands” International Conference for the Equilibrium of the World, Jan. 27-29, Havana, Cuba.

2002

Co-organizer, “Continental Crossroads: Remapping US-Mexico Borderlands History,” Symposium at the Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 21 Sept., Dallas, Texas.

2001

“Curanderos, Quacks and the Texas Medical Establishment: Preserving Mexican Culture in the Face of Domination, 1880-1920,” Borderlands in Transition, Texas A & M International University and Texas State Historical Society, 10 Nov. 2001, Laredo, Texas.

“Chino Cubanos: A Story of Blood Sweat and Historical Erasure,” Interdisciplinary Lecture Series, Yale Council on Latin American and Iberian Studies, Nov 1, 2001, New Haven, CT

“Between the Spanish Empire and the Cuban Nation: Regulation and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century Chinese “Coolie,” Trade, Latin American Studies Association, 7 September 2001, Washington DC.

“Remembering Conquest: The Difficult Dialogue about Ramón Gutiérrez’s *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away*,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 10 August 2001, Vancouver BC.

Roundtable Discussant on Gunther Peck’s *Reinventing Free Labor: Padres and Padrones in the North American West*, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 11 August 2001, Vancouver BC

“Coolies and Contamination in Nineteenth Century Cuba,” Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies, 1 March 2001, Veracruz, Mexico

1999 “Nuestra América: Beyond the National Boundaries of (Latin) American History,” International symposium on “Imágenes a través del espejo: La nueva historiografía norteamericana sobre América Latina,” Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

“Circuits of Empire and Anti-Empire: Traveling Into and Out of the Borderlands in the Late Nineteenth Century,” X Conference of Mexican and North American Historians, Dallas-Fort Worth.

“Neither Red, nor White, nor Black, But Mexican: Coloring the Race/Nation Map in the US West,” American Historical Association-Pacific Coast Branch, Maui, Hawaii.

1998 Chair and Participant, “Empire on the Texas-Mexico Border: Global Networks of Imperial Knowledge from the Lower Rio Grande to the Congo,” Latin American Studies Association XXI International Congress, Chicago, Illinois.

“Empire on the Texas-Mexico Border: Global Networks of Imperial Knowledge from the Lower Rio Grande to the Congo,” American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, 91st Annual Meeting, San Diego, California.

“A New Spectre Haunting the World: The Zapatista Struggle Against Neoliberalism and For Humanity,” Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies, Missoula, Montana.

“Blasting History: Picking Up the Pieces in a Crazy World,” Last Lecture Series, Lewis & Clark College.

1997 “Beyond Bi-Polar Racial Theory: Race on the Late Nineteenth Century Texas-Mexico Border,” Western Historical Association Conference, 37th Annual Conference.

Discussant, Border Disorder II: A Theoretical Discussion of Identity and Power in Latin America, Latin American Studies Association XX International Congress, Guadalajara, Mexico.

- 1996 "Nations on the Border of a Nervous Breakdown: Coping with Mexican Revolutionaries on the Texas Border in the 1890s," Southern Historical Association, 62nd Annual Meeting, Little Rock, Arkansas.
- "Twilight on the Border: Making/Interpreting Texas Mexican Identity at the End of the Nineteenth Century," Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- "La Frontera Norte: La Formación de la Identidad en la Revolución de Catarino Garza," Seminario de Estudios Históricos: Monterrey 400, Archivo General del Estado de Nuevo León.
- 1995 Chair and Participant, "New Mestiza Consciousness' in the Late Nineteenth Century: Identity Formation on the Texas-Mexico Border," Latin American Studies Association, XIX International Congress, Washington DC.
- 1994 "Before the Revolution: Catarino Garza as Activist/Historian," Third Conference Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, Legacies of a Literature: Impact and Implications of the U.S. Hispanic Contribution, University of Houston.
- Chair and Participant, "Identity as a Means of Struggle and Social Control: Race, Class, Gender, and Nation in Catarino Garza's Revolution," Latin American Studies Association, XVIII International Congress, Atlanta, Georgia.
- 1993 "La lógica de los hechos: Reading Catarino Garza's Auto-biography as History," Seventh Biennial University of Texas, Austin Historical Symposium.
- "Tall Tales of a Tejano Revolutionary: Race and Class in the Construction of Catarino Garza," Institute for Latin American Studies Student Association Conference.
- 1992 "Deconstructing *La Raza*: Culture and Ideology of the *Gente Culta* of Laredo, 1904- 1911," Latin American Studies Association, XVII International Congress, Los Angeles.

Academic Service

Peer reviewer for: *American Historical Review*, *Journal of American History*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Western Historical Review*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *Stanford Law Review* and *Latin American Research Review*.

Peer reviewer for: *Yale University Press*, *Oxford University Press*, *Duke University Press*, *University of North Carolina Press*, *Routledge*, and *University of Arizona Press*.

2023- Present Co-Chair of Budget Advisory Committee.

2020- Present Member of International Studies Committee of Organization of American Historians, chair 2022-23

2018-19 Co-chair of Bryce Wood Latin American Studies Book Award, Latin American Studies Association.

2018-2020 Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Lewis & Clark College.

2016-2020 Faculty Council at Lewis & Clark College.

2015 President of Borderlands Section of Council on Latin American History (CLAH)

2014 Secretary of Borderlands Section of Council on Latin American History (CLAH)

2011 Program Committee for American Studies Association, 2011 conference.

2008 Diversity Advisory Committee, Lewis & Clark College, 2008- present.

2007 Committee for Counsel, Earlham College's Border Studies Program, 2007- present.

Appointed to Presidential Committee on Diversity and Social Justice, Lewis & Clark College.

Committee on Promotion and Tenure (2007-2009), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2008-2009.

Faculty Representative to Board of Trustees, Lewis & Clark College, 2007-2009.

2006 Budget Advisory Committee (2006-2008), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2007-2008.

2004-05 Program Committee for American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch, Annual Meeting 2005, Corvallis, Oregon.

2002 Curriculum Committee (2002-2004), Lewis & Clark College, chair, 2003-2004.

2000 Program Committee for American Historical Association-Pacific Coast Branch, Annual Meeting 2001, Vancouver, British Columbia.

1997 Historical Consultant, "Border on the Edge," documentary video about Laredo's Washington's Birthday Celebration.

1993 Co-organizer, Seventh Biennial University of Texas Historical Symposium, Austin, Texas.

Fellowships, Awards and Honors

2023 Vital Projects grant for Stanford's Migration and Asylum Lab, \$25,000

2021 Lorey Lokey Faculty Excellence Award, Lewis & Clark College.

Vital Projects grant for Migration Scholar Collaborative, \$25,000

2020 James Madison Award by Society for the History of the Federal Government for "Caging Immigrants at McNeil Island Federal Prison, 1880-1940," *Pacific Historical Review* article.

Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award, for "Caging Immigrants at McNeil Island Federal Prison, 1880-1940," American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, *Pacific Historical Review* article.

- 2019 Franklin Research Fellowship by American Philosophical Society, \$6,000.
- Organization of American Historians and Japan Association for American Studies Society, Japan Residency at Seijo University, May 26- June 8, 2019.
- 2017 Organization of American Historians Japan Residency at Osaka University. Declined due to time-conflict.
- 2016 Honorable Mention for 2016 **Lucas Tomassini Award** for International Relations by Latin American Studies Association.
- 2011 Mellon Senior Sabbatical Extension Fellowship, 2011-12, Lewis & Clark College.
- Mellon Seminar on the Caribbean Diaspora, 2011-12, developed grant proposal for a year-long seminar with a group of Lewis & Clark Faculty.
- 2009-10 Conversations Project for "Borderless: Migration, Globalization and Changing Communities," 2010-12, Oregon Humanities.
- 2008 Chautauqua lectureship for "The Chinese Diaspora in the Americas: The First 'Illegal Aliens,'" 2008-09, Oregon Council for the Humanities.
- 2006 **Jim Parrish Award** for documentation and publication of local or regional history, awarded by the Webb County Heritage Foundation.
- 2005 **Kate Broocks Bates Award** for the best book on Texas history up to 1900, awarded by the Texas State Historical Association (\$3000 award).
- 2005-07 Two-year **Millicent McIntosh Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation**. \$20,000 grant for my "Chinese Diaspora in Greater North America" project.
- 2002 **National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute Fellowship**, "The Americas of José Martí," Tampa, Florida and Havana, Cuba.
- Student-Faculty Collaborative Research Grant, Lewis & Clark College
Faculty Research Fellowship, Lewis & Clark College
- 1998 **W. Turrentine Jackson Award** for most distinguished dissertation on twentieth century history of the US West, American Historical Association- Pacific Coast Branch.
- Bert M. Fireman Prize** for best student essay in the *Western Historical Quarterly*, Western History Association.
- Pamplin Society Teacher of the Year Award**, nominated as one of six candidates, Lewis & Clark College.

- 1996-97 **Liberal Arts Dissertation Fellowship**, University of Texas, Austin.
- 1995-96 **Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Fellowship**, Mexico.
- Patterson-Banister Fellowship in U.S. History**, University of Texas, Austin (declined in favor of Fulbright-Hays grant).
- 1995 **García-Robles Fulbright Dissertation Research Fellowship**, Mexico.
- Faculty Sponsored Research Fellowship**, Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, (declined in favor of Fulbright-Hays grant).
- 1992-94 **Clara Driscoll Fellowship and Texas Sesquicentennial Fellowship**
Daughters of the Republic of Texas (renewed for second year).
- 1993 **Recovering the U.S.-Hispanic Literary Heritage Grant** for my project “Catarino Garza: A Late Nineteenth Century Texas Mexican Intellectual.
Southwest Council of Latin American Studies scholarship award, 1993.
- 1992 **Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship** (Portuguese), Institute for Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin.

Teaching Experience

1997- present Professor, Department of History, Lewis & Clark College

Transnational History of the Americas (seminar)
Slavery, Bondage and Prisons in the United States (Ethnic Studies Colloquium)
Immigration and Asylum Law
Latin American Cultural Studies (taught bilingually)
Colonial Latin American History (survey)
Modern Latin American History (survey)
Modern Cuba (upper division)
Modern Mexico (upper division)
Race and Nation in Latin America (upper division)
US-Mexico Borderlands (seminar and 200-level)
Gender and Sexuality in Latin America (seminar)
Senior Research Seminar: American Empire
Inventing America, Parts I and II (Core Humanities Course)
Race, Ethnicity and Transnational Identity in US America (Core Humanities Course)
Human Migration (Core Humanities Course)

1990-91 Teacher, ninth grade, Social Studies and English, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York.

Immigration Legal Work

“Historians’ Comment: DHS Notice of Proposed Rulemaking Expanding Definition of Public Charge”, Torrie Hester, Hidetaka Hirota, Mary E. Mendoza, Deirdre Moloney, Mae Ngai, Lucy Salyer, Elliott Young, 15 Oct. 2018.

History Professors Amicus Brief in Motion for Temporary Restraining Order against Trump Executive Order, 13 March 2017

Developed website, [Expert Immigration Witness](#), to help immigration lawyers find academic expert witnesses for asylum cases.

Provided expert witness declarations in more than 600 asylum cases related to Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, Venezuela, and Cuba.

Art and Politics

Appointed by Mayor Ted Wheeler to Board of Portland Committee on Community-Engaged Policing (PCCEP), Sept. 2019. Alternate Co-Chair (November 2019- July 2020), Co-Chair (July 2020- August 2021).

Faculty leader for alternative Spring Break Art Exchange to Havana, Cuba, Spring 2017.

Organized and Co-Curated *No Entiendo Nada, I Don’t Understand Anything* exhibit at Estudio 50 Gallery in Havana, Cuba, 1 April 2017.

Organized and Co-Curated *Intersecciones: Havana-Portland* exhibit at Hoffman Gallery, with six Cuban artists, Jan. 28-March 11, 2016.

Organized and co-curated *Wifi Gratis* exhibit at Fresa y Chocolate Gallery, Havana, Cuba, 19 May 2015

“RaWaR Live!” video installation, Dumba Art Collective, Dumbo, Brooklyn, July 2005; Backspace gallery, Portland, Oregon, April 2005.

Participant in “Venezuela No Está Sola” conference, Caracas, Venezuela, July 2004.

Regular commentator on Buenos Aires, Argentina radio program, “Maté Amargo,” 2004 - 2007.

Workers’ Rights Board Member, Jobs with Justice, Portland, OR, 2002-present.

Professional Associations

American Studies Association
American Historical Association
Organization of American History
Western History Association
Latin American Studies Association

References

Mae Ngai, Lung Family Professor of Asian American Studies and Professor of History Columbia University, mn53@columbia.edu

Erika Lee, Distinguished McKnight University Professor, University of Minnesota, erikalee@umn.edu

Ramón Gutiérrez, Preston & Sterling Morton Distinguished Service Professor, University of Chicago, rgutierrez@uchicago.edu

Kelly Lytle-Hernández, Professor of History, UCLA, hernandez@history.ucla.edu

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Attorneys for Plaintiffs
[Additional Counsel Listed on Next Page]

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF MELANIE
MORTEN IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE EFFECTIVE
DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

1 Additional Counsel for Plaintiffs

2 Jessica Karp Bansal (SBN 277347)

3 jessica@ndlon.org

4 Lauren Michel Wilfong (pro hac vice pending*)

5 lwilfong@ndlon.org

6 NATIONAL DAY LABORER ORGANIZING NETWORK

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8 Pasadena, CA 91105

9 Telephone: (626) 214-5689

10 Eva L. Bitran (SBN 302081)

11 ebitran@aclusocal.org

12 ACLU FOUNDATION

13 OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

14 1313 West 8th Street

15 Los Angeles, CA 90017

16 Telephone: (213) 977-5236

EXPERT DECLARATION OF MELANIE MORTEN

1
2 1. I, Melanie Morten, am an Associate Professor of Economics at Stanford University. If
3 called to testify, I could and would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the economic impact of terminating
5 Venezuela's Temporary Protected Status (TPS). I make this declaration based on my personal and
6 professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly
7 relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes
8 available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will
9 advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate
10 judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own.

11 3. In addition to being an Associate Professor of Economics at Stanford, I serve as a
12 senior fellow at the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR), a research associate at
13 the National Bureau for Economic Research, and hold many other academic affiliations. In addition,
14 I am the co-director of the Stanford Guestworker Migration Initiative, which I have directed since
15 2022. I have a Ph.D. in Economics from Yale University. Before attaining my Ph.D., I completed a
16 bachelor's degree in economics (with honours) from the University of Auckland, New Zealand.
17 I have received fellowships from the National Science Foundation, 3ie, The International Growth
18 Center, and many others. My research has generally focused on the economic determinants and
19 effects of human migration. I am widely published and a frequent speaker on issues of migration,
20 poverty, urbanization and spatial economics. A true and correct copy of my curriculum vitae is
21 attached as Appendix A.

22 4. TPS holders have the legal right to work in the U.S., with employment rates estimated
23 between 81% and 96%. They earn income, pay federal and local taxes, and contribute to Social
24 Security and Medicare. Those who own homes also contribute through property taxes.
25 Estimates of the economic contribution of TPS holders are typically based on data from the
26 American Community Survey (ACS), an annual survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The
27 Census Bureau describes the ACS as "the premier source for detailed population and housing
28 information about our nation." (<https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs>). While the ACS does

1 not directly ask about TPS status, researchers can estimate eligibility by analyzing respondents'
2 nationality, year of immigration, and other factors to exclude those likely to have a different legal
3 status. Researchers then use employment and earnings data from these individuals to estimate their
4 overall economic contribution. I have reviewed the literature that estimates the economic benefits of
5 TPS derived from the ACS, including the methodologies used in these studies, and summarize the
6 findings below.

- 7 a. An analysis by the American Immigration Council used data from the 2021
8 ACS to estimate the economic impact of more than 354,000 TPS holders from
9 12 countries. The study found that 94.6% of TPS holders were employed,
10 earning a total of \$10.3 billion per year and paying \$2.2 billion annually in
11 federal and state taxes. Additionally, 41% of TPS holders owned homes,
12 contributing further through property taxes. (American Immigration Council,
13 2023). Adjusted to 2025 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI
14 calculator, these numbers are \$12.5 billion in earnings and \$2.7 billion in
15 federal and state taxes.
- 16 b. An analysis by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, using data from the
17 2015 ACS, estimated that approximately 300,000 TPS holders from El
18 Salvador, Honduras, and Haiti earned a total of \$4.5 billion annually. They
19 contributed \$691 million per year to Social Security and Medicare taxes.
20 (Baran et al., 2017). Adjusted to 2025 dollars using the Bureau of Labor
21 Statistics CPI calculator, these numbers are \$6.1 billion in earnings and \$940
22 million in Social Security and Medicare taxes annually. Venezuelans are not
23 included in this estimate because they did not have TPS status in 2015, the
24 year of analysis. However, this number is indicative of the positive economic
25 impact of TPS holders writ large.
- 26 c. An analysis of the 2010 and 2015 ACS found that the labor force participation
27 rate for TPS holders from El Salvador, Haiti, and Honduras ranged from 81%
28 to 88%. Median household income for TPS residents was \$50,000 for
Salvadorans, \$40,000 for Hondurans, and \$45,000 for Haitians (adjusted to
2025 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI calculator, these
numbers are \$68,000, \$54,000 and \$61,000 respectively). 30% of the TPS
holders have a mortgage, indicating home ownership (Warren & Kerwin,
2017). Venezuelans are not included in this estimate because they did not have
TPS status in 2010 or 2015, the years of analysis. However, this number is
indicative of the positive economic impact of TPS holders writ large.

5. If Venezuelans lose TPS status, they will no longer have the legal right to work in the
U.S. They will either be deported or stay in the country without legal authorization. If deported, they

1 will no longer contribute to the U.S. economy. If they stay and work without authorization, they may
2 earn less and contribute less economically than they would with TPS status. Research shows that
3 migrants with TPS have better job opportunities and wages relative to migrants with no immigration
4 status. A study by Orrenius & Zavodny (2015) found that migrant men with TPS earn 13% more
5 than migrant men without it, and migrant women with TPS are 17% more likely to have jobs
6 compared to migrant women without TPS. If losing TPS has the opposite effect of gaining it, this
7 means that people who lose their status may earn less or struggle to find work. As a result, even if
8 they are not deported, their reduced earnings and employment rates would lead to lower overall
9 economic output for the U.S.

10 6. TPS allows workers to hold formal jobs and pay payroll taxes, thus contributing to
11 the U.S. economy. Without legal work status, more Venezuelan TPS holders who have not yet been
12 deported may turn to informal jobs. Informal workers often do not pay payroll taxes (and deported
13 workers certainly pay no taxes). This would reduce funding for Social Security and Medicare, which
14 can have a broader economic impact. For example, in Los Angeles County in 2005, informal
15 employment led to an estimated \$2 billion in unpaid payroll taxes compared to if those workers had
16 been formally employed. (Flaming et al., 2005).

17 7. Additional economic costs to ending TPS are costs to firms for needing to replace
18 workers who were previously legally employed, and costs to the government to deport individuals.
19 The report by the Immigrant Legal Resource Center (Baran et al., 2017) estimates the economic cost
20 of these two additional channels as follows:

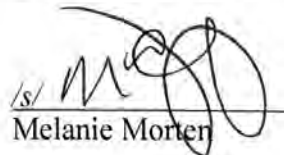
- 21 a. The report estimates that replacing laid-off TPS employees would cost firms
22 \$967 million. Adjusted to 2025 dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics
23 CPI calculator this number is \$1.3 billion.
- 24 b. Ending TPS would also impose costs on the government due to deportation
25 expenses. The report uses a per-immigrant deportation cost of \$10,070.
26 Adjusted for inflation to 2025 using the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI
27 calculator, this cost rises to \$13,700 per person. Deporting approximately
28 350,000 Venezuelan TPS holders could therefore cost taxpayers an estimated
\$4.8 billion.

1 8. More broadly, the National Academies of Sciences published a 2017 report on the
2 economic and fiscal impacts of immigration. (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and
3 Medicine, 2017). Since TPS holders are immigrants, the report's findings—though not specific to
4 TPS—are likely relevant. The report found little evidence that immigration negatively affects the
5 wages and employment of U.S.-born workers. It found evidence of positive effects, including lower
6 prices for U.S.-born workers. The findings of the report are summarized below.

- 7 a. The report found very little to no evidence of negative effects of immigration
8 on wages and employment of U.S.-born ("native") workers. The report
9 summarizes that "the impact of immigration on the wages of natives overall is
10 very small" (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine,
11 2017, p. 5), and that there is "little evidence that immigration significantly
12 affects the overall employment levels of native-born workers." (*Id.*).
13 b. An increase in immigration may also reduce the prices of some goods and
14 services, which is a benefit to US consumers. Overall, the report concluded
15 that "the contributions of immigrants to the labor force reduce the prices of
16 some goods and services, which benefits consumers in a range of sectors
17 including child care, food preparation, house cleaning and repair, and
18 construction." (*Id.*, p. 316).

19 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
20 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

21 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Stanford, California.

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/s/ Melanie Morten

1 References Cited

2 American Immigration Council. (2023). *The Contributions of Temporary Protected Status Holders*
3 *to the U.S. Economy*.

4 Baran, A., Magaña-Salgado, J., & Wong, T. K. (2017). *Economic Contributions by Salvadoran,*
5 *Honduran, and Haitian TPS Holders*. Immigrant Legal Resource Center.

6 Flaming, D., Haydamack, B., & Joassart, P. (2005). Hopeful Workers, Marginal Jobs. LA's Off-The-
7 Books Labor Force. *Economic Roundtable*.

8 National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2017). *The Economic and Fiscal*
9 *Consequences of Immigration* (F. D. Blau & C. Mackie, Eds.; p. 23550). National Academies Press.
10 <https://doi.org/10.17226/23550>

11 Orrenius, P. M., & Zavodny, M. (2015). The Impact of Temporary Protected Status on Immigrants'
12 Labor Market Outcomes. *American Economic Review*, 105(5), 576–580.
13 <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.p20151109>

14 Warren, R., & Kerwin, D. (2017). A Statistical and Demographic Profile of the US Temporary
15 Protected Status Populations from El Salvador, Honduras, and Haiti. *Journal on Migration and*
16 *Human Security*, 5(3), 577–592.

APPENDIX A

Melanie Morten

Department of Economics
Stanford University
579 Jane Stanford Way
Stanford, CA 94305
memorten@stanford.edu

Academic Positions

Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Stanford University, 7/2021-
Senior Fellow, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR), 7/2021-

Affiliations:

Stanford Center for Latin American Studies, Faculty Affiliate
Stanford Urban Studies, Faculty Affiliate
Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (JPAL), Affiliate
Bureau for Research and Economic Analysis of Development (BREAD)

- Fellow
- Member of Executive Committee

National Bureau for Economic Research, Research Associate
International Growth Center (IGC), Affiliate
Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), Affiliate
Stanford King Center on Global Development, Affiliate
Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA), Affiliate
Motu Economic and Public Policy Research, Affiliate

Professional service:

Coeditor, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 1/2024-
Board of Editors, *Journal of Economic Literature*, 1/2024-
Foreign Editor, *Review of Economic Studies*, 10/2023-
Faculty Advisory Board, *Stanford Impact Labs*, 9/2023-
Advisory Board, *Stanford King Center on Global Development*, 9/2023-
Executive Committee, Bureau for Research and Economic Analysis of Development (BREAD), 6/2023-
Board Member, Bureau for Research and Economic Analysis of Development (BREAD), 5/2022-
Editorial Board Member, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 6/2022-12/2022
Associate Editor, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 2/2019-9/2021

Education:

Ph.D., Economics (with distinction), Yale University, 2007-2013
Thesis: "Temporary Migration and Endogenous Risk Sharing in Village India"
Committee: Mark Rosenzweig, Aleh Tsyvinski, Chris Udry
B.Com., (hons), The University of Auckland, 2005

Previous academic positions:

Visiting Scholar, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, 1/2024-12/2024
Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Stanford University, 7/2014-7/2021
Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, MIT, 7/2018-12/2018
Junior Scholar, Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 6/2013-6/2014
Consultant for Macroeconomics (Karlán/Morduch) textbook, McGraw Hill, 1/2011-6/2011
Research Assistant, World Bank Development Economics Research Group, 6/2009-8/2009
Research Assistant, Motu Economic Research and Public Policy, Wellington, New Zealand, 2/2006-7/2007

Publications in peer-reviewed journals (reverse chronological order):

1. Morten, M. & Oliveira, J. (2024). [The Effects of Roads on Trade and Migration: Evidence from a Planned Capital City](#). *AEJ: Applied*, 16(2), 389-421.
2. Bryan, G., Chowdhury, S., Mobarak, A.M., & Morten, M (2023). [Encouragement and distortionary effects of conditional cash transfers](#). *Journal of Public Economics*, 228, 105004
3. Mobarak, A. M., Meghir, C., Mommaerts, C., & Morten, M (2022). [Migration and Informal Insurance](#). *The Review of Economic Studies*, 89(1), 452-480
4. Balboni, C., Bryan, G., Morten, M., & Siddiqi, B. (2021). [Could Gentrification Stop the Poor from Benefiting from Urban Improvements?](#) *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings*, 11, 532-537
5. Bryan, G. & Morten, M. (2019) [The Aggregate Productivity Effects of Internal Migration: Evidence from Indonesia](#). *Journal of Political Economy*, 127(5): 2229-2268.
6. Morten, M (2019), [Temporary Migration and Endogenous Risk Sharing in Village India](#). *Journal of Political Economy*, 127(1): 1-46. (Lead article)
7. Karlán, D., Morten, M. & Zinman, J. (2016). [A Personal Touch in Text Messaging can Improve Microloan Repayment](#). *Behavioral Science and Policy*, 1(2), 25-31.
8. Bollard, A., McKenzie, D., Morten, & M., Rapoport, H. (2011). [Remittances and the Brain Drain Revisited: The Microdata Show That More Educated Migrants Remit More](#). *World Bank Economic Review*, 25(1), 132-156.
9. Bollard, A., McKenzie, D., & Morten, M. (2010). [The Remitting Patterns of African Migrants in the OECD](#). *Journal of African Economics*, 19(5), 605-634.

Working papers (reverse chronological order):

10. Bryan, G., Frye, K., & Morten, M. (2025). [Spatial Economics for Low- and Middle- Income Countries](#). Chapter prepared for *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics*.
11. Allen, T., Dobbin, C., & Morten, M. (2024). [Border Walls](#). NBER Working Paper 25267.

12. Balboni, C., Bryan, G., Morten, M., & Siddiqi, B. (2020). [Transportation, Gentrification, and Urban Mobility: The Inequality Effects of Place-Based Policies.](#)
13. Chandrasekhar, A., Morten, M., & Peter, A. (2020). [Network-based Hiring: Local Benefits; Global Costs.](#) NBER Working Paper 26806

Work in progress:

14. Maré, Dave, Morten, M., & Sanderson, L. "The economic impacts of labor shortages: Evidence from seasonal migration in NZ"
15. Magaloni, B. & Morten, M. "Immigration Law as Development Policy: Mexican Guestworkers and the H-2A Visa Program"

Grants as a Principal Investigator:

Evaluating the Impacts of the Dar es Salaam BRT System

1. Stanford SEED, 2017, (\$125,000)
2. 3ie, 2016, (\$249,477)
3. IGC, 2016, (GBP 132,346)

Contract Structure, Social Networks, and Firm Size

4. Stanford Center on Global Poverty and Development, 2017, (\$45,000)
5. NSF, 2014, (\$578,447) (joint with Arun Chandrasekar)

Seasonal Migration in Myanmar

6. G2LM|LIC, 2020, (Euro 334,777)

Immigration Law as Development Policy: Mexican Guestworkers and the H-2A Visa Program

7. NSF, 2022, (\$620,082)
8. K-CAI pilot grant (\$68,821)
9. [Stanford Guestworker Migration Initiative](#), King Center
10. Stanford Impact Labs Stage One funding

Fellowships, honors and awards:

Stanford Impact Labs Impact Lab Design Fellowship, 2021
Sloan Research Fellowship, 2019-2021
JEEA Excellence in Refereeing Award, 2018
National Science Foundation CAREER Award, 2018-2023
Stanford IRiSS Faculty Fellow, 2017-2018
Yvette Gurley Research Scholar, Stanford, 2016
Review of Economic Studies, May Meetings Speaker, 2013
George Trimmins Dissertation Prize, 2013
Poster Prize, NEUDC, MIT, 2010
Robert Evenson Travel Fellowship, Yale University, 2010

Sasakawa Fellowship, Yale University, 2010
Overbrook Fellowship, Yale University, 2009-2010
A.R. Bergstrom Prize in Econometrics, 2008
Yale Fellowship for Doctoral Study, 2007-2013
Motu Doctoral Scholarship, New Zealand, 2007

Invited seminar presentations:

2025*	LSE
2024	UW, Oxford, UCL, NWU, UCSC
2023	Berkeley, Peking University, UC San Diego, USC
2022	Michigan, GWU
2021	UAB, Peking, World Bank, Chicago, U Penn, LSE, Minnesota
2020	UC Berkeley (Haas), UC Berkeley (ARE), University of Minnesota, University of Chicago Booth, Arizona State University
2019	UC Berkeley (ARE, International), UC Berkeley (Development), UCSD, UCLA, Wharton, Princeton, Oxford, Georgetown
2018	USC, UW Seattle, MIT/Harvard, Yale, Boston University
2017	Simon Fraser, UCSC, IFPRI, Namur, Paris School of Economics, Toulouse, Princeton
2016	University of Houston, USF, Duke, Penn State, IIES Stockholm, University of California Berkeley (Trade), University of California Berkeley (ARE), Dartmouth
2015	University of Chicago, University of Toronto, University of California Berkeley (Development)
2014	Harvard/MIT Joint Development Seminar, WUSTL/Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis, Brown University, University of Calgary
2013	Royal Holloway, UCL/LSE Joint Development Seminar, University of Oxford, USC
Job Market	UCLA, University of Minnesota, University of Chicago, Stanford GSB, Stanford, UCL, Harvard University, University of Wisconsin Madison, Princeton University, Northwestern University

Conference presentations:

2024	Econometric Society, 2024 African Meeting (keynote); UCLA miniconference on Spatial Economics, IEB (keynote); Spatial Economics Conference, Princeton.
2023	ADB conference on Infrastructure and Urban Development in the Developing World (keynote)
2022	BSE Summer Forum (Migration)
2021	RIDGE
2020	BREAD, ASSA (x2)
2019	American Economic Association, FRB Dallas - U. of Houston - Banco de Mexico Conference in International Economics
2018	UCLA Trade/Devo Mini Conference, SED Mexico City, NBER Summer Institute (Labor Studies), Urban Economics Association
2017	NBER Trade and Geography Conference, Notre Dame Development Mini-Conference, NBER Summer Institute (Development)

2016 ASSA meetings, U Washington Bangladesh Conference, SED, Duke Applied Microeconomics Jamboree
2015 NBER Summer Institute (Economic Growth; Productivity and Entrepreneurship; Urban Economics), Armenia Mini-Conference on Growth and Development, SED Warsaw, Barcelona Summer Workshop on Migration, UCLA Trade/Devo Mini Conference, Oxford Center for Study of African Economies Conference
2014 ASSA meetings, NBER Summer Institute (Development Economics), AFD/CGD Migration and Development Conference (Oxford), PODER/CEPR Workshop (Stockholm), IFS/CEAR Family and Risk Workshop
2013 Restud May Meetings (Central European University Budapest, Goethe University Frankfurt, University of Edinburgh), IZA/WZB Field Days Conference (Berlin), NBER Summer Institute (Development Economics)
2012 NEUDC (Dartmouth), CEAR Households and Risk Workshop (University of Georgia)
2011 NEUDC (Yale), Advances with Field Experiments Conference (University of Chicago)
2010 NEUDC (MIT, Poster), Migration and Development Conference (Paris School of Economics)

* including scheduled

Public and Departmental Service:

Stanford Director of Graduate Studies: 2022-
Stanford Placement Co-Director: 2021
Stanford Graduate Admissions Committee: 2015—2016
Stanford Undergraduate Policy Committee: 2019—2021

Scientific Committee, BSE Development 2024
Program Committee, Econometric Society Meetings, 2023
Program Committee, Asia Meeting of the Econometric Society (AMES), 2023
Mentor, Research in Color Foundation: 2022
Coorganizer BREAD/IGC Virtual PhD course, Migration module: 2022
Scientific Committee, Migration and Development Conference, 2018—current
Program Committee, Society for Economic Dynamics Conference: 2015—2018

Referee Service:

American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, American Economic Review, Economic Development and Cultural Change, Econometrica, Economic Journal, Innovations for Poverty Action Research Review Committee, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of the European Economic Association, Journal of Human Capital, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Economic Geography, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Urban Economics, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Regional Science, Review of Economic Dynamics, Review of Economics and Statistics, Review of Economic Studies, Science, Scandinavian Journal of Economics, World Bank Economic Review.

Ad-hoc reviewer for Innovations for Poverty Action, the National Science Foundation, and the European Research Commission.

PhD students:

(Secondary committee member, unless otherwise noted. Initial placement noted.)

Eva Lestant, expected 2027
Akhila Kovvuri, expected 2026
Alvaro Calderon, expected 2025
Caylee O'Connor, expected 2024
Renan Yoshida, expected 2024
Mark Walsh, 2024 (Givewell)
Sally Zhang, 2023 (Princeton postdoc)
Cauê Dobbin, 2022 (Georgetown)
Eduardo Muggenberg, 2021 (Facebook)
Diego Javier Hernandez, 2021 (Federal Reserve)
Yiming He, 2021 (Uber)
Alessandra Peter, 2019, (NYU)
Thomas Ginn, 2019, (Center for Global Development)
Travis Baseler, 2019, (Rochester)
Katy Bergstrom, 2019, (World Bank)
Kevin (Hoan) Nguyen, 2017, (Amazon)
Santiago Perez, 2017, (UC Davis)
Santiago Saavedra, 2017, (Universidad del Rosario)
Michela Giorcelli, 2016, (UCLA)

Courses taught:

Graduate development economics (2014—2023)
Undergraduate development economics (2020—2022)
Introductory economics (2014—2016)

Updated: 2/3/2025

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[Additional Counsel Listed on Next Page]

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO
PÉREZ IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE EFFECTIVE
DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

1 Additional Counsel for Plaintiffs

2 Jessica Karp Bansal (SBN 277347)

3 jessica@ndlon.org

4 Lauren Michel Wilfong (pro hac vice pending*)

5 lwilfong@ndlon.org

6 NATIONAL DAY LABORER ORGANIZING NETWORK

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8 Pasadena, CA 91105

9 Telephone: (626) 214-5689

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12 ACLU FOUNDATION

13 OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

14 1313 West 8th Street

15 Los Angeles, CA 90017

16 Telephone: (213) 977-5236

DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO PÉREZ

1
2 1. I, Santiago Pérez, am an Associate Professor of Economics at the University of
3 California, Davis. If called to testify, I could and would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the impact of terminating
5 Venezuela's temporary protected status (TPS). I make this declaration based on my personal and
6 professional knowledge, my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly
7 relied upon in my field that are currently available to me. If additional information becomes
8 available, or if I believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will
9 advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate
10 judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are my own.

11 3. I am an Associate Professor of Economics at the University of California, Davis, and
12 a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). I am also a faculty
13 affiliate of the UC Davis Global Migration Center. I have a Ph.D in Economics from Stanford
14 University. Before completing my Ph.D., I completed a master's degree in economics at the
15 Universidad de San Andrés (Argentina) and a bachelor's degree in economics at the Universidad de
16 Buenos Aires (Argentina). I have received grants from the National Science Foundation and the
17 Russell Sage Foundation, and fellowships from Stanford University and the National Bureau of
18 Economic Research. A true and correct copy of my curriculum vitae is attached as Appendix A.

19 4. One of my core areas of research is the economic analysis of immigration. I have
20 published several peer-reviewed articles on immigration-related topics, including articles in the
21 *American Economic Review* and *American Economic Review: Insights*, two of the flagship journals
22 of the main association of professional economists in the U.S., the American Economic Association.

23 5. I have published two peer-reviewed articles that deal with one of the fundamental
24 questions in the economics of immigration. Namely, how do immigrants and their children perform
25 in the U.S. economy and society? These two studies, which are based on empirical analysis of data
26 over many years, suggest an optimistic view on the integration of immigrants and their children
27 (including those of South American origin) in the American economy and society in recent decades.
28 This research is relevant to understanding the potential consequences of ending TPS for Venezuelan

1 immigrants: the termination of TPS for Venezuela risks expelling thousands of valuable contributors
2 to American communities.

3 6. My first publication is entitled “Intergenerational Mobility of Immigrants in the U.S.
4 over Two Centuries.” This peer-reviewed article was published in the *American Economic Review* in
5 2021. The *American Economic Review* is arguably the most prestigious journal for economics
6 research. This article studies the intergenerational mobility of children of immigrants in the U.S.
7 since 1880 to the present day. We found that children of immigrants whose parents entered the U.S.
8 in the early 1980s, including those whose parents had low levels of income, are doing very well on
9 the American labor market. For instance, children of immigrants whose parents were in the bottom
10 quarter of the income distribution ended up, on average, at around the middle of the U.S. income
11 distribution as adults. Importantly, this success is also present when we focus on the children of
12 lower-income immigrants from South American countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Chile,
13 Colombia, or Peru. While there were too few Venezuelan migrants in the 1980s to allow us to
14 reliably measure the long-term outcomes of their children using the article’s data, the success of
15 other South American immigrants’ children suggests that children of Venezuelan migrants stand to
16 perform well in the American labor market. For example, we found that children of lower-income
17 Argentinian, Brazilian, Chilean, Colombian, and Peruvian migrants rose economically even though
18 many of their parents arrived without English proficiency or significant financial resources. The
19 success of these children indicates that the children of Venezuelan immigrants—many of whom
20 have parents who faced similar barriers—will succeed as well. Indeed, we find that rates of
21 immigrants’ upward mobility have been remarkably similar throughout American history despite
22 substantial changes in the number, composition, and country of origin of different immigrant
23 communities.

24 7. My second publication that is particularly relevant to this context is entitled “Law-
25 Abiding Immigrants: The Incarceration Gap Between Immigrants and the U.S.-Born, 1870-2020.”
26 This peer-reviewed paper was published as the lead article in the *American Economic Review: Insights*, which is similar to the *American Economic Review* with respect to quality but is intended
27 for shorter articles. In this study, we measure gaps in incarceration between immigrants and the
28

1 U.S.-born from 1870 until the present day. There are two main findings in this study. First,
2 immigrants have had lower incarceration rates than the U.S.-born *throughout American history*
3 (including lower incarceration rates than U.S.-born *whites*). Second, immigrants' relative
4 incarceration rates have actually *declined* since the 1960s in the U.S. Importantly, for the most recent
5 period, we find that immigrants from *nearly all* sending countries, including immigrants from
6 Venezuela, have lower incarceration rates than the U.S.-born.¹ Hence, immigrants in general, and
7 Latin Americans in particular, are, if anything, less likely to have interactions with law enforcement
8 that lead to incarceration than are U.S.-born individuals.²

9 8. To sum up, these two studies based on large-scale data and careful analysis indicate
10 that immigrants in the U.S., including Venezuelan immigrants, have been remarkably successful in
11 terms of the labor market as well as other dimensions such as (lack of) propensity to commit crimes.
12 It is wrong to paint Venezuelan TPS holders as a group of dangerous criminals who will be a net
13 burden on the American economy because my research empirically suggests the opposite. In fact,
14 deporting hundreds of thousands of Venezuelan migrants would likely harm the United States by
15 depriving it of industrious, law-abiding community members.

16 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
17 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

18
19 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in DAVIS, GA

20 /s/ [Signature]
21 Santiago Pérez
22
23
24
25

26 ¹ The "Law-Abiding Immigrants" article omitted country-by-country data due to the publisher's
27 length requirements.

28 ² My latest research has led to another notable finding: refugees fleeing political persecution have
even lower incarceration rates than other immigrant populations. I am preparing a new article on this
topic.

APPENDIX A

Santiago Pérez

CONTACT INFORMATION	University of California, Davis Department of Economics One Shields Ave Davis, CA 95616	seperez@ucdavis.edu
EMPLOYMENT	University of California, Davis Associate Professor of Economics, 2023- Assistant Professor of Economics, 2017-2023	
PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS	National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Research Associate, 2023- Faculty Research Fellow, 2019-2023 Global Migration Center, UC Davis Associate Faculty, 2017-	
PREVIOUS AFFILIATIONS	National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Post-doctoral Fellow on “The Economics of Mobility”, 2020-2021 Brown University Visiting Assistant Professor of Economics, 2021-2022	
EDUCATION	Stanford University Ph.D., Economics, 2011-2017 Universidad de San Andrés Master, Economics, 2008-2009 Universidad de Buenos Aires Licenciatura, Economics, 2003-2008	
PUBLICATIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Law-Abiding Immigrants: The Incarceration Gap Between Immigrants and the US-born, 1870–2020</i> [joint with Ran Abramitzky, Leah Boustan, Elisa Jacome and Juan David Torres] [AER: Insights, 2024]• <i>Civil Service Exams and Organizational Performance: Evidence from the Pendleton Act</i> [joint with Diana Moreira] [AEJ: Applied Economics, 2024]• <i>Southern (American) Hospitality: Italians in Argentina and the US during the Age of Mass Migration</i> [Economic Journal, 2021]• <i>The Long-Term Spillover Effects of Changes in the Return to Schooling</i> [joint with Ran Abramitzky and Victor Lavy] [Journal of Public Economics, 2021]	

- *Intergenerational Mobility of Immigrants in the U.S. over the Last Two Centuries* [joint with Ran Abramitzky, Leah Boustan, and Elisa Jácome] [American Economic Review, 2021]
- *Automated Linking of Historical Data* [joint with Ran Abramitzky, Leah Boustan, Katherine Eriksson and James Feigenbaum] [Journal of Economic Literature, 2021]
- *Intergenerational Occupational Mobility Across Three Continents* [The Journal of Economic History, 2019]
- *Linking Individuals Across Historical Sources: A Fully Automated Approach* [joint with Ran Abramitzky and Roy Mill] [Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History, 2019]
- *The (South) American Dream: Mobility and Economic Outcomes of First- and Second-Generation Immigrants in 19th-Century Argentina*, [The Journal of Economic History, 2017, (lead article)]
Best Article by a Researcher under 35 (National Academy of Economic Sciences of Argentina)

- WORKING PAPERS
- *Daughters as Safety Net? Family Responses to Parental Employment Shocks: Evidence from Alcohol Prohibition* [joint with Anna Aizer and Gabrielle Grafton]
 - *The G.I. Bill, Standardized Testing, and the Socioeconomic Origins of the US Educational Elite* [joint with Ran Abramitzky, Jennifer Kowalski, and Joseph Price]
 - *Finding John Smith: Using Extra Information for Historical Record Linkage* [joint with (with Ran Abramitzky, Harriet Brookes Gray, Leah Boustan, Katherine Eriksson, and Myera Rashid] R&R at **Review of Economics and Statistics**
 - *Who Benefits from Meritocracy?* [joint with Diana Moreira]
 - *Railroads and the Rural to Urban Transition: Evidence from 19th-Century Argentina*

- SELECTED WORK
IN PROGRESS
- *College Dynasties* [joint with Ran Abramitzky, Jennifer Kowalski, and Joseph Price]

- BOOK CHAPTERS
- *Migration and Immigrant Outcomes at the Destination*, in “Research Handbook of Historical Sociology.” Edited Volume. Edward Elgar Publishing
 - *Argentina in the Age of Mass Migration*, in “Roots of Underdevelopment: A New Economic (and Political) History of Latin America and the Caribbean.” Edited Volume. Palgrave, Macmillan, 2022 [joint with Federico Droller and Martín Fiszbein]

- BOOK REVIEWS
- “Snakes and Ladders: The Great British Social Mobility Myth.” by Selina Todd. Economic History Review (2021)
 - “Migrant Marketplaces: Food and Italians in North and South America.” by Elizabeth Zanoni. Business History Review 93.3 (2019): 645-647.

- RESEARCH GRANTS
- National Science Foundation (\$500,000) [with Ran Abramitzky and Joe Price] 2022
Russell Sage Foundation (\$166,553) [with Ran Abramitzky and Joe Price] 2022
UC Davis, Small Grant In Aid of Research 2018-2020, 2023-2024
Economic History Association, Arthur H. Cole Grant in Aid 2018

Economic History Association Engerman-Goldin Prize [with Abramitzky, Boustan, Eriksson, and Rashid for the <i>Census Linking Project</i>]	2024
UC Davis Dept. of Economics, Thomas Meyer Distinguished Teaching Award	2023
UC Davis, Hellman Fellowship [with Diana Moreira]	2021
<i>Journal of Economic Geography</i> , Best Referee Award	2020
NBER Postdoctoral Fellowship on the Economics of Mobility	2020
<i>National Academy of Economic Sciences of Argentina</i> , Best Article by a Researcher under the Age of 35	2019
<i>Explorations in Economic History</i> , Excellence in Refereeing Award	2019
Leonard W. Ely and Shirley R. Ely Graduate Student Fund Fellowship	2016-2017
Economic History Association, Dissertation Fellowship	2016
Stanford University, Outstanding TA Award	Fall, 2015
SCID Exploratory Award	2015
Economic History Association, Exploratory Data and Travel Grant	2015
Stanford University, Economics Department. Research Grant	2014
Stanford University, Graduate Fellowship	2011/12-2012/13
Universidad de San Andrés. Master Program Scholarship	2009

2024 (including planned): Universidad de San Andrés; Central Washington University Economic Outlook Conference (keynote speaker); Dondena-Cornell DOCC gathering; Linnaeus University; NBER Summer Institute*; UC Berkeley; San Diego State University; Santa Clara University; Wake Forest University

2023: Chicago Federal Reserve; NBER Immigrants and the US Economy Conference; UCMX Seminar on the Economics of Immigration; Universidad de Buenos Aires; Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF); University of Texas, El Paso; University of Arizona; University of Syracuse; Universidad de San Andres Alumni Conference

2022: Harvard University; World Economic History Congress; Stanford Institute for Theoretical Economics; University of British Columbia; Peking University; Universidad de San Andres Alumni Conference

2021: Corporacion Andina de Fomento (CAF); University of Melbourne; University of British Columbia; Yale University Economic History Conference; Universidad Nacional de La Plata; Annual Cliometrics Conference; Economic History Association; BREAD Conference*; NBER Summer Institute (X2); Warwick University; Brown University; Northwestern University; Yale University; Rutgers University; PUC Chile; Wilfrid Laurier University; NBER Economics of Mobility; Social Science History Association

2020 (cancelled due to COVID+): ASSA meetings; Oxford University Historical Perspectives on Intergenerational Mobility; Galatina Summer Meetings+; CEPR Meeting on Structural Transformation and Economic Growth*; University of Southern Denmark; University of Ottawa; NBER Organizational Economics*; Opportunity Insights Lunch Meetings

2019: Economic History @ UdeSA; 3rd LSE-Stanford-U de los Andes Conference on Long-Run Development in Latin America and Beyond; 12th Migration and Development Conference (Madrid); Workshop on Intergenerational Mobility, Gender and Family Formation in the Long Run (Statistics Norway); NBER Summer Institute; Stanford Institute for Theoretical Economics; Economic History Association; University of Milan Global Challenges Seminar; Udesa Alumni Conference

2018: University of Arizona; Pontificia Universidad de Católica de Chile; EH Clio Lab

2017: CU Boulder; University of Notre Dame; UC Davis; Fundacion Getulio Vargas; Universidad de los Andes; Universidad del Rosario; Universidad de los Andes SOM; Northwestern University; UC Berkeley; UC Davis HIA/ISS; UC Irvine; All-California Labor Economics Conference

2016: Vanderbilt University; LSE Economic History; All-UC Economic History

	Group Meetings, Economic History Association, NBER Summer Institute (poster session), Annual Cliometrics Conference 2015: Universidad de San Andrés Alumni Conference, UC Berkeley Complete Census Count Workshop, Economic History Association (poster session), Stanford SITE Conference 2014: Stanford-Berkeley Immigration Conference
INVITED DISCUSSIONS	2025: ASSA meetings (Session chair + Two discussions) 2024: LACEA Migration Network Meeting ; Economic History Association meetings (Session chair) 2022: Economic History Association meetings (Session chair) 2021: CAF Workshop on Intergenerational Mobility in Latin America; Explorations in Economic History Conference on Methodological Advances in the Extraction and Analysis of Historical Data 2020: NBER Economics of Mobility Meeting 2017: Economic History Association meetings
CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION AND SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEES	2024: Economic History Association Local Arrangements Committee 2024: LACEA Migration Network Meeting 2023: LACEA LAMES Annual Meeting 2022: Stanford Institute for Theoretical Economics (Migration Session)
REFEREEING	<i>AEJ: Applied Economics, AEJ: Economic Policy, American Economic Review, American Economic Review: Insights, American Sociological Review, Applied Economics, Chile's National Research and Development Agency, Demographic Research, Econometrica, Economica, Economic History of Developing Regions, Economic History Review, Economic Journal, European Review of Economic History, Explorations in Economic History, Israel Science Foundation, International Migration Review, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of Economic Geography, Journal of Economic History, Journal of American Ethnic History, Journal of Human Resources, Journal of Labor Economics, Journal of Urban Economics, Journal of the European Economic Association, Journal of Political Economy, Journal of Public Economics, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Regional Science and Urban Economics, Revista de Historia Económica, Review of Economics and Statistics, Review of World Economics, Russell Sage Foundation, Scandinavian Review of Economic History, Canada Foundation for Innovation</i>
DEPARTMENT SERVICE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• News committee 2022-• Co-organizer, Economic History Seminar
CAMPUS SERVICE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• U21 Global Leadership Program• Review Committee Alianza UC-MX Collaborative Research Proposals
TEACHING	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• UC Davis Economics of international migrations (<i>undergraduate</i>) Since Fall 2017- US Economic History (<i>undergraduate</i>) Since Winter 2023- Economic history (<i>graduate</i>) Since Winter 2018-• Brown University Inequality and Social Policies (<i>graduate</i>) Fall 2021

SHORT COURSES AND INVITED LECTURES	• Global Migration Center and Alianza UCMX	
	Summer School on the Economics of Immigration	2022, 2023, 2024
	• Bogotá Summer School of Economics	2024
	• Feria del Libro de Buenos Aires (invited by FamilySearch) “New Technologies to Know Better our History”	2023
	• UCSD, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies	
	A new frontier in immigration research: Historical record linkage	2022
PHD STUDENTS ORAL EXAMINATIONS	• Zhixian Lin (UC Davis)	
	• Matthew Curtis (UC Davis)	
	• Tamoghna Halder (UC Davis)	
	• John Blanchette (UC Davis)	
	• Mingxi Li (UC Davis)	
	• Joshua Grelewicz (UC Davis)	
	• Giuseppe Ippedico (UC Davis)	
	• Camila Saez (UC Davis)	
	• Julian Arteaga (UC Davis ARE)	
	• Reem Zaïour (UC Davis)	
	• Juliana Jaramillo Echeverri (LSE Economic History)	
	• Ellen Anderson (UC Davis)	
	• Denis Sosinsky (UC Davis)	
	• Roozbeh Faghihi Moghadam (UC Davis)	
	• Angelita Repetto (UC Davis Sociology)	
	• Ze Zhang (UC Davis ARE)	
	• Beau Bressler (UC Davis)	
	• Alessandro Caiumi (UC Davis)	
	• Carlos Henrique Brito (UC Davis)	
	• Madeleine Ho (UC Davis)	
	• Raymond Kim (UC Merced)	
	• Rebecca Brough (UC Davis)	
	• Wenni Yang (UC Davis)	
	• Gabriela Rubio (UC Davis)	
PERSONAL INFORMATION	Argentine Citizen, US Permanent Resident, US Census Special Sworn Status	

Last updated: December 3, 2024

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
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PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
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Plaintiffs,

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KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF STACY
TOLCHIN IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

1 Additional Counsel for Plaintiffs

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF STACY TOLCHIN

1
2 1. I, Stacy Tolchin, am an attorney licensed to practice by the State of California. If called
3 to testify, I could and would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion to explain some of the law governing
5 what protections TPS has afforded to the Venezuelan immigrant communities at issue in this case, and
6 how those protections do and do not overlap with the rights Venezuelan TPS holders may have under
7 other immigration laws. I make this declaration based on my personal and professional knowledge,
8 my skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly relied upon in my field that
9 are currently available to me. If additional information becomes available, or if I believe it would be
10 appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend
11 to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this
12 declaration are my own.

13 **Qualifications**

14 3. I received my Juris Doctorate from the University of California at Los Angeles in 2001,
15 and have been practicing law for over 23 years.

16 4. I am admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court; the United States
17 Court of Appeals for the Ninth, Tenth, Fifth, and Second Circuits; and the United States District Court
18 for the Northern District of California, Eastern District of California, Central District of California,
19 Southern District of California, Court of Federal Claims, and District of New Mexico.

20 5. My business address is Law Offices of Stacy Tolchin, 776 E. Green St. Suite 210,
21 Pasadena, CA 91101. I practice throughout the state of California.

22 6. I am a recipient of the American Immigration Lawyers' Association Southern
23 California Chapter 2019 Annual Pro Bono Award, the University of California at Los Angeles Law
24 School's 2018 Alumni Public Service Award, the National Lawyers Guild of Southern California 2017
25 annual award, the American Immigration Lawyers Association's 2009 Jack Wasserman Award for
26 Excellence in Immigration Litigation, the 2009 American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California
27 Equal Justice Advocacy Award, the 2008 National Immigration Law Center Annual Award, the 2007
28 "Unsung Hero" Award for the National Lawyers Guild of the Bay Area, and was recognized in 2003

1 by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee of San Francisco. I was also named to “Super
2 Lawyers” from 2012-2024.

3 7. I am a former member of the Board of Directors of the National Immigration Project
4 for the National Lawyers Guild, a member of the National Lawyers Guild, the Los Angeles County
5 Bar Association immigration section, and the American Immigration Lawyers Association.

6 8. I specialize in immigration-related litigation before the federal courts. Cases I have
7 litigated include: *Alvarado-Herrera v. Garland*, 993 F.3d 1187 (9th Cir. 2021) (establishing the legal
8 standard for the “reasonable fear” screening test before an immigration judge); *Arce v. United States*,
9 899 F.3d. 796 (9th Cir. 2018) (establishing that the federal courts have authority to consider damages
10 actions under the Federal Tort Claims Act in cases involving unlawful deportations); *Bonilla v. Lynch*,
11 840 F.3d 575 (9th Cir. 2016) (establishing federal court jurisdiction to review motions to sua sponte
12 reopen based on changes in law); *Mendiola v. Holder*, 576 F. App’x 828 (10th Cir. 2014) (petition for
13 review in Tenth Circuit challenging removal of a lawful permanent resident based on change in law);
14 *Bains v. Holder*, 584 F. App’x 574 (9th Cir. 2014) (petition for review challenging removal order based
15 on changed circumstances arising in India); *Duran Gonzales v. U.S. Dep’t of Homeland Sec.*, 712 F.3d
16 1271 (9th Cir. 2013) (class action litigation involving applications for lawful permanent residency
17 where the applicants had been previously deported); *Huerta v. Holder*, 484 F. App’x 172 (9th Cir.
18 2012) (petition for review based on ineffective assistance of counsel); *Padilla-Padilla v. Gonzales*,
19 463 F.3d 972 (9th Cir. 2006) (challenge to Board of Immigration Appeals’ failure to follow its internal
20 regulations); *Silaya v. Mukasey*, 524 F.3d 1066 (9th Cir. 2008) (finding that victim of gang-rape in the
21 Philippines had suffered past persecution based on her father’s political opinion); *Husyev v. Mukasey*,
22 528 F.3d 1172 (9th Cir. 2008) (finding that courts have jurisdiction to review agency’s failure to follow
23 asylum regulations); *Hassine v. Johnson*, 2014 WL 5035173 (E.D. Cal. 2014) (petition for de novo
24 naturalization case and award of attorneys’ fees); *Zavala v. Ridge*, 310 F. Supp. 2d 1071 (N.D. Cal.
25 2004) (Department of Homeland Security’s “automatic stay” regulation that keeps non-citizens in
26 custody while their immigration cases are pending, even after an immigration judge has ordered their
27 release, is facially unconstitutional); *Singh v. Still*, 470 F. Supp. 2d 1064 (N.D. Cal. 2007) (successful
28 petition for writ of mandamus challenging Department of Homeland Security’s unreasonable delay in

1 the adjudication of applications for permanent residency); *Shahwan v. Chertoff*, C 05 4218 MMC
2 (N.D. Cal. 2005) (granting petition for writ of habeas corpus where petitioner was not informed when
3 he traveled on “advance parole” that he would be ineligible for a bond hearing before an immigration
4 judge); and *Araujo v. INS*, 301 F. Supp. 2d 1095 (N.D. Cal. 2004) (Federal Tort Claims Act action
5 finding that the United States government was liable for damages to a non-citizen for unlawful
6 deportation).

7 9. I have deep expertise and extensive practice experience in immigration law, including
8 in the law governing the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) statute, 8 U.S.C. 1254a, and its interaction
9 with various other provisions of the immigration law, including the law governing asylum, detention,
10 and other related areas of immigration law. I have represented many individuals who had (or had
11 previously held) TPS in removal proceedings. I also successfully represented a class of TPS holders
12 who challenged policies related to their eligibility to adjust status after having traveled on authorized
13 TPS travel in *Gomez v. Jaddou*, Case 1:21-cv-09203-ALC (S.D.N.Y), which resulted in a change in
14 USCIS policy that recognized TPS recipients who returned to the United States with authorized travel
15 were “admitted.”

16 **Overview**

17 10. Until the decisions challenged in this case, Temporary Protected Status was available,
18 broadly speaking, to Venezuelan nationals who had resided here continuously since on or before July
19 31, 2023, unless they had a felony or two or more misdemeanor convictions. On January 17, 2025,
20 DHS Secretary Mayorkas extended Venezuelan TPS until October 2, 2026. DHS Secretary Noem’s
21 order vacating that decision was issued February 3, 2025. I understand that that vacatur order and the
22 termination decision that followed it are the subject of this lawsuit.

23 11. As I explain herein, although many Venezuelan TPS holders may also be eligible for
24 protection from removal and work authorization through other avenues, only a small minority will
25 actually receive relief, and it is very likely that many Venezuelan TPS holders would *not* be protected
26 to the same degree by any other statute. In fact, many of them would not be protected at all from loss
27 of employment and removal were they to lose TPS.

1 **Protections Under the TPS Statute**

2 12. The TPS statute provides a very clear form of immigration status, and robust protection
3 to live and work in the United States, to people who hold TPS. Congress has explicitly forbidden the
4 removal of anyone who has TPS. Subsection (a)(1)(A) of the statute provides that the federal
5 immigration enforcement authorities “shall not remove the alien from the United States during the
6 period in which such status is in effect.”

7 13. Congress has also mandated that TPS holders receive employment authorization.
8 Subsection (a)(1)(B) of the statute provides that federal immigration authorities “shall authorize the
9 alien to engage in employment in the United States and provide the alien with . . . [a] work permit.”

10 14. Furthermore, although in general the federal government has broad powers to detain
11 (that is, to jail) non-citizens charged with being deportable under the immigration laws, Congress has
12 expressly forbidden the detention of people who have TPS. Subsection (d)(4) of the TPS statute
13 provides “An alien provided temporary protected status under this section shall not be detained by
14 the Attorney General on the basis of the alien’s immigration status in the United States.”

15 15. The TPS statute makes these protections broadly available to people who meet the
16 primary eligibility criteria—which are that one has to be a Venezuelan national who has continuously
17 resided in the United States since on or before July 31, 2023. For someone who meets those criteria,
18 the statute provides the robust protection from detention and deportation and access to work
19 authorization described above, so long as the individual does not have a felony or two (or more)
20 misdemeanor convictions, and has not engaged in certain other highly unusual conduct (concerning
21 the persecution of others and other rare circumstances).

22 **Asylum and Parole, and Other Forms of Protection**

23 16. Many Venezuelans who currently have TPS could be eligible for asylum and related
24 protections under 8 U.S.C. 1158, but that is not true for all of them, and the asylum statute’s protections
25 are weaker than those under TPS for several reasons. Further, only a minority of Venezuelan asylum
26 applications are approved. Applicants whose asylum applications are not approved are automatically
27 placed in removal proceedings.

1 17. To establish eligibility for asylum, an applicant must show a “well-founded fear” of
2 “persecution” “on account of” one of five distinct grounds: “race, religion, nationality, membership in
3 a particular social group, or political opinion.” Each of these is a term of art with technical legal
4 meaning that restricts the availability of asylum in different ways. For example, a Venezuelan who
5 leaves because their children have become malnourished as the grocery stores in their area no longer
6 sell basic goods (or because they cannot afford to buy them) likely cannot establish persecution on
7 account of a protected ground. Even those who flee extortion and violence by organized criminal
8 entities typically cannot establish eligibility for asylum because they cannot show that the harm is on
9 account of a protected ground and for other reasons.

10 18. In addition, because asylum is so legally complex, many applicants hesitate to apply
11 without legal assistance, but of course legal representation is expensive, and if they fail to apply within
12 one year of their arrival, or generally six months after falling out of any non-immigrant status, they
13 are presumptively ineligible for asylum. 8 U.S.C. 1158(a)(2)(B).

14 19. Even if someone has affirmatively applied for asylum, that alone does not guarantee
15 protection from removal or even work authorization. The government takes the position that it can
16 detain and begin removal proceedings against someone with a pending application, so long as the
17 application has not been granted (and they have no other valid legal status). Work permits are available
18 no earlier than six months after someone files for asylum, and the agency is not legally required to
19 provide them. 8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(2).

20 20. Some Venezuelan TPS holders also may have received a form of status through parole
21 under 8 U.S.C. 1182(d)(5)(A)—either through a program that allowed them to fly directly to the
22 United States provided that they had a sponsor and completed a vetting process, or through a program
23 that allowed them to present themselves at a port of entry on the southern border. Those programs
24 typically provided a right to reside in the U.S. for one or two years and work authorization during that
25 period. However, those parole grants were not extended under the prior administration, and the
26 programs authorizing them have been frozen by the new administration (since January 20, 2025), and
27 may well be rescinded. As a result, the numbers of people protected by them will likely shrink in the
28

1 near future (even if the government does not retroactively strip beneficiaries of their rights under
2 them).

3 21. It is of course possible that any given Venezuelan TPS holder may have some other
4 pathway to lawful status, such as through marriage, sponsorship by their employer, or other methods.
5 For example, Venezuelan TPS holders are eligible to change status to other non-immigrant statuses,
6 such as H-1B, a non-immigrant status for foreign professionals, provided they meet the eligibility
7 requirements for the other non-immigrant statuses. But these pathways to lawful status are rare for
8 individuals who arrived in the last several years. Further, if a TPS holder's TPS ends and they fall out
9 of lawful status, then they will not be eligible to change status to a different non-immigrant status.

10 22. Moreover, under a recent change enacted by the Trump Administration, the government
11 takes the view that virtually anyone found anywhere in the United States who fails to show an
12 immigration officer that they have been present for two years or more can be summarily deported,
13 without even being brought before an Immigration Judge, unless they affirmatively assert their right
14 to seek asylum. That such an individual may be married to a U.S. citizen, have an employer willing to
15 sponsor them, or have some other defense to removal would be legally irrelevant in such situations.

16 23. To summarize, notwithstanding the availability of asylum, parole, and other forms of
17 relief under the immigration laws, many thousands of Venezuelan TPS holders—likely the vast
18 majority—will lose their lawful immigration status and work authorization if the TPS vacatur and
19 termination at issue in this case go into effect. That legal change will immediately render them
20 potentially subject to arrest and detention under the immigration laws. Those who cannot prove two
21 years or more of presence could face immediate deportation, while others could remain jailed until
22 presented to an Immigration Judge, before whom they would have to attempt to establish eligibility
23 for asylum under the narrow criteria described above.

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
2 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3
4 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Pasadena, California.

5
6
7
8 

9 Stacy Tolchin

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZÁLEZ HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF STEVEN
DUDLEY IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFF' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION OF STEVEN DUDLEY

1
2 1. I, Steven Dudley, am the Co-Director of InSight Crime. If called to testify, I could and
3 would do so as follows:

4 2. I have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the threat of the Tren de Aragua in
5 the United States. I make this declaration based on my personal and professional knowledge, my skill,
6 experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly relied upon in my field that are
7 currently available to me. If additional information becomes available, or if I believe it would be
8 appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, I will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that I intend
9 to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this
10 declaration are my own.

11 3. Appendix A is a true and correct copy of my curriculum vitae.

12 4. InSight Crime is a think tank with offices at American University in Washington, D.C.,
13 and Medellín, Colombia. We specialize in investigating and analyzing organized crime in the
14 Americas and assessing State efforts to combat these organizations.¹ InSight Crime is considered to
15 be the leading source for investigation, reporting, analysis, and training targeted to meet the needs of
16 academics, researchers, policymakers and analysts, journalists, NGOs, and law enforcement and
17 government officials tackling the problems posed by organized crime and drug trafficking throughout
18 the region. Our coverage reaches between 300,000 and 400,000 readers every month, and our material
19 is routinely cited, quoted, and reprinted in major media outlets. We have been doing this for 15 years.
20 Our coverage has been recognized through awards including, most recently, a special citation by the
21 Columbia Journalism School for coverage of Latin America, the Ortega & Gasset award for best
22 investigative story, and two Simón Bolívar awards for investigative stories.

23 5. I hold a Master's Degree in Latin American Studies from the University of Texas at
24 Austin. I have a Bachelor's Degree in History from Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. I am a
25 Senior Fellow at American University's Center for Latin American and Latino Studies and a former
26 fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

27
28 ¹ For more information, *see* insightcrime.org.

1 6. I lived in Guatemala from 1991 to 1992, in Brazil in 1993 and in 1998, and in Colombia
2 off-and-on for nearly ten years beginning in 1995 and ending in late 2007. I have traveled to many
3 parts of Latin America during my 30 years as a journalist and investigator in the region, including to
4 Venezuela on dozens of occasions. During that time period, I have worked for media organizations
5 like the *Washington Post*, National Public Radio, the *Economist*, and the British Broadcasting
6 Corporation (BBC), among others. I am a member of the International Consortium of Investigative
7 Journalists and was a Knight Fellow at Stanford University.

8 7. In addition to my work for media and InSight Crime, I wrote a book concerning the
9 Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrillas that was published in English (*Walking*
10 *Ghosts* - Routledge 2004) and Spanish (*Armas y urnas* - Grupo Planeta 2008), and a book on the MS-
11 13 gang (*MS-13: The Making of America's Most Notorious Gang* – HarperCollins 2020), which won
12 the Lucas Prize for book in progress. I have also published reports on drug trafficking and organized
13 criminal networks in Central America and Mexico for policy groups such as the Woodrow Wilson
14 International Center for Scholars, the International Crisis Group, and the Migration Policy
15 Institute.

16 8. As part of my work at InSight Crime, I do regular trips to the region and am in nearly
17 constant contact with government authorities, media partners, correspondents, academics, and other
18 investigators throughout the region, including with our team of correspondents in Venezuela. In all, I
19 have made more than 100 trips to the region since I became Co-Director of InSight Crime in 2010.

20 9. I focus a lot of this work on trying to understand how international criminal
21 organizations operate, including prison gangs. In 2012-2013, for example, I went to Ciudad Juárez,
22 Mexico, to investigate and write about the prison gang known as Barrio Azteca.² The gang had
23 operations inside and outside the prison system and had expanded across the US-Mexico border. They
24 also worked with corrupt police.

25
26
27
28 ² See Steven Dudley, “Barrio Azteca Gang Poised for Leap into International Drug Trade,” InSight
Crime (Feb. 13, 2013), <https://insightcrime.org/investigations/barrio-azteca-gang-poised-leap/>.

1 10. In 2016, I directed a year-long investigative project on prisons in the region financed
2 by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).³ For that project, we studied the way prison gangs
3 operated in five countries.⁴ We entered prisons in the countries I studied and spoke to those on the
4 inside, including the heads of the gangs. Each of the prison gangs in question had operations inside
5 and outside the prisons, including criminal enterprises that involved prison guards and police.

6 11. In 2014, I became the co-principal of a two-year project funded by the U.S. Department
7 of Justice's National Institute for Justice on the MS-13.⁵ Our goal was to study the gang through
8 various academic instruments and field research in three different geographic areas: Washington, D.C.,
9 Los Angeles, and El Salvador. For this project, I traveled to El Salvador several times and met with
10 active members of the MS-13 inside jails.

11 12. In 2018, I was the co-principal of a U.S. State Department-funded project that is
12 focused on criminal dynamics in Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay. As part of this project, I work with
13 experts and investigators in Brazil. I have also traveled to the country, where I also went inside several
14 prisons. Our focus of the Brazil research is the Primeiro Comando da Capital (PCC), or First Capital
15 Command, which is the region's largest prison gang.

16 13. Since 2018, I have assisted with InSight Crime's work on Venezuela, which is also
17 funded by the U.S. State Department. The project has mapped the criminal ecosystem of that country
18 and documented how government actors have created symbiotic relationships with organized crime,
19 including the prison gang known as the *Tren de Aragua*, to create what we term a "criminal hybrid
20 state."⁶ InSight Crime has worked with dozens of its correspondents, as well as independent
21 investigators and civil society organizations, to provide the world's most comprehensive database and
22 repository of organized crime groups in Venezuela.⁷

23
24 ³ NED is a private foundation, funded mostly by the U.S. Congress, that finances projects worldwide
that support democracy. See <https://www.ned.org/about/>.

25 ⁴ See "The Prison Dilemma," a special project financed by the National Endowment for Democracy,
<https://insightcrime.org/investigations/the-prison-dilemma-in-the-americas/>.

26 ⁵ See description of project: <https://www.american.edu/centers/latin-american-latino-studies/transnational-criminal-capacity-of-ms-13.cfm>.

27 ⁶ See Venezuela Investigative Unit, "Rise of the Criminal Hybrid State in Venezuela" (July 9, 2023),
<https://insightcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Rise-of-the-Criminal-Hybrid-State-in-Venezuela-InSight-Crime-1.pdf>.

28 ⁷ See master list: <https://observatory-venezuela.insightcrime.org/criminal-actors>.

1 **TREN DE ARAGUA**

2 14. I and others at InSight Crime have studied organized crime in Venezuela for the last 15
3 years. I am very familiar with the origins of Tren de Aragua in Venezuela and its activities both there
4 and in other parts of South America. I am also familiar with the limited reach of Tren de Aragua in
5 the United States.

6 15. Over the past decade, Tren de Aragua established operations in Colombia, Peru, and
7 Chile. The Venezuelan government of Nicolás Maduro operates as a criminal hybrid state, in which
8 state security forces work alongside or in parallel with organized crime groups like Tren de Aragua,
9 as well as so-called *colectivos*, or collectives, a disparate network of grassroots, left-wing political
10 groups that was trained, financed, and armed by the state and act as political shock troops.⁸

11 **TREN DE ARAGUA IN THE UNITED STATES**

12 16. Although Tren de Aragua is undoubtedly a powerful criminal organization in
13 Venezuela and some other parts of South America, there is no evidence of a structured or operational
14 presence in the United States. In fact, local police we have spoken to in the United States have not
15 asserted that the Tren de Aragua has any significant criminal operations in the country.⁹ The few
16 crimes attributed to alleged Tren de Aragua members in the United States appear to have no connection
17 with the larger group or its leadership in Venezuela.

18 17. In a 2024 report, InSight Crime contacted more than a dozen national, state, and local
19 law enforcement agencies. Miami-based law enforcement told us they were worried about
20 incentivizing imposters, but they had not identified any crimes related to Tren de Aragua in their area.
21 Georgia and Chicago law enforcement told us they think the gang may be in the area, but they could
22 not give us any idea of the scale of the gang's presence or the criminal activities the gang may be
23 involved with. Even in areas that have received a lot of media attention, such as Denver and its
24 surrounding area, law enforcement personnel and politicians have refuted the notion there was any
25 significant presence of Tren de Aragua.

26 ⁸ Venezuela Investigative Unit, "Rise of Criminal Hybrid State in Venezuela," InSight Crime (July
27 2023), [https://insightcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Rise-of-the-Criminal-Hybrid-State-in-](https://insightcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Rise-of-the-Criminal-Hybrid-State-in-Venezuela-InSight-Crime-1.pdf)
28 [Venezuela-InSight-Crime-1.pdf](https://insightcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Rise-of-the-Criminal-Hybrid-State-in-Venezuela-InSight-Crime-1.pdf).

⁹ Mike LaSusa, "Is Venezuela's Tren de Aragua 'Invading' the US?" InSight Crime (April 1, 2024),
<https://insightcrime.org/news/is-venezuelas-tren-de-aragua-invading-us/>.

21. From our extensively investigated human smuggling and trafficking networks along the US-Mexico border, we have also not found any evidence of the Tren de Aragua's operational or physical presence.

22. According to our research, Tren de Aragua is not currently a major threat in the United States. The gang's reputation appears to have grown more quickly than its actual presence in the United States. The group appears to have no substantial U.S. presence and looks unlikely to establish

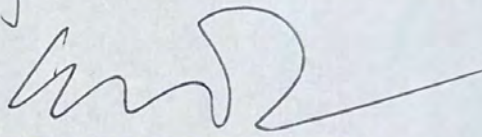
5

1 one. There is no concrete evidence they are regrouping or challenging any other criminal organizations
2 in the U.S.

3 23. What's more, given Venezuela's economic collapse, widespread insecurity, and the
4 government's reliance on criminal groups to maintain control, deported Venezuelans face not only the
5 threat of organized crime but also state repression. The convergence of these two forces—state-backed
6 persecution and gang control—creates an environment in which returning migrants are extremely
7 vulnerable.

8
9 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
10 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

11
12 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Washington, DC.

13
14 
15 /s/ Steven Dudley

APPENDIX A

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Summary

As the co-founder and co-director of InSight Crime -- a 14-year old media and think tank that specializes in the investigation of organized crime in the Americas -- I manage on-the-ground small and large, multilingual teams who do investigations and analyses of organized crime, violence, and political corruption; I research and write hard-hitting investigative journalism stories and public policy reports; I raise millions of dollars in support of these projects; I have frequent closed-door, high-level briefings with officials; and I am a regular panelist and guest lecturer at universities and think tank events, as well as appear on television and radio.

Professional Experience

InSight Crime Incorporated. Co-founder, Co-director (2010-present). Manage think tank based at American University that monitors, analyzes and investigates organized crime in the Americas. The organization, working with its parallel organization in Medellín, Colombia, also does risk assessments and policy reports for government clients; trains journalists and NGOs on how to investigate organized crime in the region.

Miami Herald. Bogotá, Colombia. Bureau Chief, Andean Region (2004-07). Reported and coordinated coverage from five different countries.

National Public Radio. Bogotá, Colombia. Reporter-Andean Region (1999-2003). Reported, produced, wrote, voiced features for news magazines.

Boston Globe. Miami, FL. Reporter-Latin America/Caribbean (2004). Wrote news and feature stories for international section.

Washington Post. Bogotá, Colombia. Reporter-Andean Region (1999-2001). Wrote news and feature stories for international section.

BBC. Bogotá, Colombia. Reporter-Latin America/Caribbean (1999-2004). Reported, produced, wrote and voiced features for Boston-based radio program "The World."

Books Published

MS13: The Making of America's Most Notorious Gang (HarperCollins, 2020)

Walking Ghosts: Murder and Guerrilla Politics in Colombia (Routledge, 2004)

Consultancies

Dexis. Honduras. Guatemala. Worked as part of a team to diagnose issues and trends in Honduras' security situation for USAID's five-year strategic plan; led team that mapped Guatemala's criminal networks.

Creative Associates. Honduras. El Salvador. Researched and wrote risk analyses and diagnostics; trained journalists in investigation and security.

Social Impact. Honduras. Guatemala. Senior researcher, writer for assessment of USAID citizen security project in Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula and La Ceiba; director of project assessing homicides attributed to gangs and organized crime in Guatemala.

Overseas Strategic Consulting, Ltd. Guatemala. Developed a manual for journalists on investigative techniques and safety in reporting on organized crime.

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IREX. Nicaragua. Trained journalists and investigators from non-governmental organizations on how to cover elections.

Fellowships

American University, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies, Senior Fellow. Washington, DC (2011 – present). Scholar-in-residence.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Fellow. Washington, DC (2012 – 2013). Scholar-in-residence.

Stanford University, Knight Fellow. Palo Alto, California (2008). Journalist-in-residence.

Education

Cornell University, BA. Ithaca, NY (1991). U.S. and Latin American History.

University of Texas, Austin, MA. Austin, Texas (1998). Latin American Studies.

Skills

Reporting: Member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). Experience with multimedia and multi-tasking including professional recording and video, as well as editing; hostile environment training (Centurion).

Languages: Fluent in Spanish and Portuguese.

Public Speaking: Panelist, guest lecturer, key-note speaker at universities, think tanks, closed-door engagements with officials in the United States and numerous other governments across the region concerning matters of organized crime and strategies to combat violence in the Americas. I also appear regularly on television and radio for live and taped interviews.

Website Management/Design: Developed and currently manage website and mobile version in English and Spanish that draws more than 300,000 visitors a month.

Awards

Winner of the J. Anthony Lukas Work-in-Progress Award for the book *MS-13: The Making of the America's Most Notorious Gang* (HarperCollins, 2020).

Director of team of reporters in four countries that were finalists for Daniel Pearl Award and Gabriel García Márquez Award in 2013 for cross-border reporting on Human Rights and organized crime.

Reporter/writer of two of a four-article series that won second place for international reporting in 2006 from the Society of Professional Journalists at its Sunshine State Awards for a series on land mines in Latin America.

Reporter/writer of one article for a series with a team that received honorable mention from the Overseas Press Club's Malcolm Forbes Award for best business reporting from abroad in newspapers in 2006 for a series on China's economic impact in South Florida and Latin America.

Recipient of the National Security Education Program (NSEP) scholarship for the 1997-98 academic year to study and write in Colombia.

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Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**EXPERT DECLARATION OF TARA
WATSON AND STAN VEUGER IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

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EXPERT DECLARATION ON IMPACTS OF ENDING TPS FOR VENEZUELAN

1. We are Tara Watson of the Brookings Institution in Economic Studies and Stan Veuger of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). If called to testify, we could and would do so as follows:

2. We have been asked to provide an expert opinion on the impacts of ending Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for Venezuelans. We make this declaration based on our personal and professional knowledge, our skill, experience, training, and education, and facts and data regularly relied upon in our field that are currently available to us. If additional information becomes available, or if we believe it would be appropriate to respond to any critique or contrary theories, we will advise Plaintiffs' counsel that we intend to do so and will seek their help in following the appropriate judicial procedures. The opinions in this declaration are our own. True and correct copies of our CVs are attached as Appendices A & B.

3. Tara Watson is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Economic Studies and directs the Brookings Center for Economic Security and Opportunity. She is an economist who has written extensively about the economic impacts of immigration to the U.S. and of immigration enforcement. She co-authored "The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear," published by University of Chicago Press in 2021. Dr. Watson is also a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a co-editor of the Journal of Human Resources, a leading academic journal in labor economics. She was a professor at Williams College for two decades. She received her Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University in 2003.

4. Stan Veuger is a senior fellow in economic policy studies at AEI, the editor of *AEI Economic Perspectives*, and an affiliate of AEI's Center on Opportunity and Social Mobility. He is also an affiliate of Harvard's Center for American Political Studies and a fellow at the IE School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs. He will be a visiting lecturer of economics at Harvard University in the fall of 2025 and was a Campbell Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution in May 2022. Dr. Veuger's research has been published in leading academic and professional journals, including the *Journal of Monetary Economics*, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, and *The Review of Economics and Statistics*. He is the editor, with Michael R. Strain, of *Economic Freedom and Human Flourishing: Perspectives from Political Philosophy* (AEI Press, 2016) and *Preserving Links*

1 *in the Pandemic: Policies to Maintain Worker-Firm Attachment in the OECD* (AEI Press, 2023). He
2 received a Ph.D. and an A.M. in economics from Harvard. He also holds degrees from Erasmus
3 University Rotterdam, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, University of London, and Utrecht University.

4 **I. Background on TPS**

5 5. The statement here reflects our perspective as independent scholars and does not
6 necessarily reflect the views of our respective employers or any other institution.

7 6. As described by the American Immigration Council, Temporary Protected Status (TPS)
8 is a temporary immigration status. It was created by Congress in 1990 and is available to nationals of
9 specifically designated countries that are confronting an ongoing armed conflict, environmental
10 disaster, or other extraordinary and temporary conditions. Individuals must be in the United States at
11 the time the U.S. government designates the status for their country of origin, must meet certain
12 eligibility conditions including an assessment of any criminal history, and must pay an application fee.
13 The status provides freedom from risk of deportation and a work permit. TPS designations last 6, 12,
14 or 18 months however may be extended an indefinite number of times. As of March 31, 2024, there
15 were approximately 863,880 people with TPS living in the United States, with additional TPS
16 designations since that date. There were 17 countries designated for TPS as of January 2025 (American
17 Immigration Council 2025, [https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-protected-status-overview)
18 [protected-status-overview](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/temporary-protected-status-overview)).

19 7. When TPS is terminated, individuals revert to the immigration status they would have
20 in the absence of TPS. Some individuals may have secured a different status while on TPS – for
21 example, through a successful asylum case or by securing permanent residency through a family
22 member – but many TPS recipients will become unauthorized upon termination. This means they will
23 lose permission to work and lack protection from deportation. If TPS holders who entered the U.S.
24 without inspection choose to leave the United States upon termination, they may be subject to a ten-
25 year bar on re-entry even if they would otherwise be eligible for a pathway to legal permanent
26 residence.

27 **II. Background on Venezuela**

28 8. Venezuela has seen one of the most pronounced political and economic upheavals in

1 recent history. The economic crises began under President Chávez and worsened under Nicolás
2 Maduro, who has served as president since 2013, although the U.S. has not recognized him as such
3 since 2019 and is currently offering a reward of up to \$25 million for information leading to his arrest
4 and/or conviction (<https://www.state.gov/nicolas-maduro-moros/>). The country has faced economic
5 collapse and hyperinflation of up to 800 percent; the International Monetary fund estimates 2025 per
6 capita GDP to be less than half of its 2013 value in purchasing power terms
7 (<https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/PPPPC@WEO/VEN>). There is also widespread agreement
8 that Maduro has used anti-democratic means to maintain power. For example, the United Nations has
9 decried the thousands of extrajudicial killings of those opposed to the regime by government-
10 sanctioned death squads ([https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-abuses.html)
11 [abuses.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/world/americas/venezuela-police-abuses.html)).

12 9. Though the economic situation has stabilized to some degree, with hyperinflation
13 abated, the political crisis continues. In 2024, international observers including the U.S. government
14 recognized Edmundo González Urrutia as the true winner of the presidential election, but Maduro
15 remains in power with González in exile. The U.S. and other countries have imposed a range of
16 financial, sectoral, and other sanctions on Venezuela generally and on the Maduro regime and its
17 supporters specifically, including for human rights violations. For example, the U.S. Treasury has
18 imposed financial sanctions on Maduro and close associates because of election fraud and ongoing
19 political repression (Congressional Research Service 2024, [https://crsreports.congress.gov](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10715)
20 [/product/pdf/IF/IF10715](https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10715)). The U.S. Department of Justice has also indicted current and former senior
21 members of the Venezuelan regime, including Maduro himself, the Defense Minister Vladimir Padrino
22 López, and the Interior Minister Diosdado Cabello Rondón.

23 10. The Venezuelan crises led to a mass exodus of 7.9 million people by 2024 (MPI 2025,
24 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025#age>). In 2023,
25 the Center for Strategic and International Studies described it as “the largest displacement crisis in the
26 world,” because there were more displaced people than from Venezuela than from Ukraine or Syria
27 (CSIS <https://www.csis.org/analysis/persistence-venezuelan-migrant-and-refugee-crisis>). While the
28 vast majority (85 percent) of Venezuelan migrants and refugees have remained in Latin America and

1 the Caribbean, hundreds of thousands have come to the United States, often walking through the
2 dangerous Darién Gap to do so. Between 2021 and 2024, more than 750,000 Venezuelan migrants
3 were encountered at or near the Southern border (OHSS 2025, [https://ohss.dhs.gov](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)
4 [/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)
5 [monthly](https://ohss.dhs.gov/topics/immigration/immigration-enforcement/immigration-enforcement-and-legal-processes-monthly)). In response to large numbers of Venezuelan migrants arriving at the Southern border, the
6 Biden administration created a humanitarian parole process for Venezuelans in October 2022, which
7 eventually allowed about 117,000 Venezuelan migrants to be screened in advance to come to the U.S.
8 with a temporary humanitarian parole status. The arrival of parolees through this program slowed
9 dramatically towards the end of 2024, and the program ended on the first day of the Trump
10 administration.

11 11. Many of the Venezuelan parolees, as well as other recently arriving Venezuelans who
12 entered either by presenting themselves at the border or entering without inspection, are seeking
13 asylum. Asylum is a permanent legal status granted to those who have a well-founded fear of
14 persecution or harm in their country. As of 2024 it was estimated that 132,272 Venezuelans had filed
15 asylum cases which had not yet been adjudicated, consistent with the well-documented backlogs in
16 the immigration system (TRAC: <https://tracreports.org/immigration/tools/>).

17 12. The crisis in Venezuela led to it being designated for TPS on March 9, 2021. The
18 designation was extended in September 2022 given the ongoing political and economic upheaval. In
19 October 2023, Venezuela was re-designated, extending the original designation and allowing
20 Venezuelan nationals who had arrived after the 2021 designation and on or before July 31, 2023 to be
21 eligible for TPS protection. In January 2025, Secretary Mayorkas again extended the Venezuela
22 designations. There are an estimated 607,000 Venezuelan nationals with TPS as of January 2025 (MPI,
23 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025>).

24 13. In separate orders posted on February 3 and 5, 2025, USCIS stated its intention to
25 terminate the 2023 designation of Venezuela for TPS on April 7. The Department of Homeland
26 Security (DHS) estimates that approximately 350,000 Venezuelan nationals are eligible for TPS under
27 the 2023 Venezuela designation, of whom 33,600 were paroled before the Trump administration ended
28 the parole program for Venezuelans.

1 **III. Four Categories of Harm Arising from Eliminating TPS for Venezuela**

2 14. In our expert assessment, terminating TPS for Venezuelans has harmful consequences
3 along four dimensions: (1) public safety; (2) immigration policy; (3) economics; and (4) foreign policy
4 and national security.

5 15. *Public safety.* It is well documented that immigrants are much less likely to commit
6 crimes than U.S.-born Americans (Santiago Pérez et al. 2024, [https://www.aeaweb.org/](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aeri.20230459)
7 [articles?id=10.1257/aeri.20230459](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aeri.20230459)). TPS recipients in particular have passed a criminal background
8 check and have a clear incentive to stay out of legal trouble to maintain their status. The nexus to
9 criminal gang membership mentioned in the notice is misplaced in that TPS is reserved for those
10 without any felony or two misdemeanors, and unavailable to individuals believed to have committed
11 “serious nonpolitical crimes” outside the United States even without a conviction. (8 U.S.C. §
12 1254a(c)(2)(B)(i); [https://www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/The%20Impact%20of](https://www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/The%20Impact%20of%20Crimes%20on%20Eligibility%20for%20TPS.pdf)
13 [%20Crimes%20on%20Eligibility%20for%20TPS.pdf](https://www.ilrc.org/sites/default/files/2023-04/The%20Impact%20of%20Crimes%20on%20Eligibility%20for%20TPS.pdf)). There is no reason to expect that driving the
14 law-abiding TPS population underground by stripping them of lawful status would improve crime
15 rates. In fact, given evidence that fear of immigration enforcement reduces immigrant willingness to
16 cooperate with police (Jacome 2022, https://elisajacome.github.io/Jacome/Jacome_PEP_JUE.pdf), it
17 is likely that this action would worsen public safety.

18 16. Terminating TPS would have adverse consequences for public health. Due to the well-
19 documented “chilling effects” of enforcement, immigrants and their families at risk of deportation are
20 less likely to seek healthcare for fear of being apprehended at medical facilities (Young et al. 2024,
21 <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC1007961>; Watson 2014 [https://www.aeaweb.org/](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pol.6.3.313)
22 [articles?id=10.1257/pol.6.3.313](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pol.6.3.313)). Immigration enforcement has been linked to declining willingness
23 to get vaccinated among undocumented immigrants (Sudhinaraset et al. 2022, [https://](https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211335522001152?via%3Dihub)
24 www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2211335522001152?via%3Dihub), with consequences
25 for the broader community. Fear of enforcement is linked to adverse mental health for immigrants and
26 their families, including U.S.-born children (MPI 2020 [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/how-](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/how-fear-immigration-enforcement-affects-mental-health-latino-youth)
27 [fear-immigration-enforcement-affects-mental-health-latino-youth](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/how-fear-immigration-enforcement-affects-mental-health-latino-youth)).

1 17. Moreover, if the administration devotes substantial resources to apprehending the
2 affected individuals for deportation, adding new individuals to the pool of those eligible for potential
3 removal will likely divert resources from other enforcement priorities, such as unlawfully present
4 immigrants with serious criminal records. By definition, those with TPS status do not have such
5 backgrounds because of the screening requirements discussed above. Diverting resources from
6 apprehending migrants with serious criminal records to apprehending former TPS holders will not
7 enhance public safety.

8 18. *Immigration policy.* The Trump administration has a stated goal of reducing the
9 unauthorized population in the United States, a goal shared by many Americans across the political
10 spectrum. This action will do the opposite, by taking a group with a temporary legal status and
11 rendering them without status. The action will do little to impact the overall number of immigrants
12 living in the United States right away because Venezuelan TPS holders will be disinclined to return to
13 the country they fled. Moreover, TPS holders with asylum claims pending in immigration court will
14 not be deportable until after their asylum hearings, so recategorizing them as “unauthorized” will only
15 increase the total number of unauthorized migrants until their cases make their way through the heavily
16 backlogged asylum dockets.

17 19. Additionally, as noted above, adding new individuals to the pool of those eligible for
18 potential removal will likely divert from other enforcement priorities such as unlawfully present
19 immigrants with serious criminal records.

20 20. *Economics.* Economists largely agree that immigration is good for the U.S. economy
21 overall, promoting GDP growth and if anything raising wages for the average U.S-born worker
22 (<https://www.nationalacademies.org/our-work/economic-and-fiscal-impact-of-immigration>).
23 Immigrants complement the work done by many U.S. workers, helping to make them more productive,
24 and encourage companies to maintain production in the United States (Olney and Pazolli 2021
25 [https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-](https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-Level-Offshoring)
26 [Level-Offshoring](https://direct.mit.edu/rest/article-abstract/103/1/177/97762/The-Impact-of-Immigration-on-Firm-Level-Offshoring)). Immigrants are over-represented in innovation and entrepreneurship
27 (<https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2024/05/23/immigrant-entrepreneurs-bring-jobs-and->
28

1 innovation-new-research-shows/). The recent immigration surge, including that of recent Venezuelan
2 migrants, was beneficial for the post-COVID economic recovery (Edelberg and Watson 2024).

3 21. It is also worth noting that Venezuelan immigrants generally have labor market
4 advantages relative to the general immigrant population. About 48 percent of those over age 25 have
5 a college degree compared to 35-36 percent of the U.S.-born and of immigrants overall. About 75
6 percent of Venezuelan immigrant adults are in the labor force, which is substantially higher than
7 immigrants in general and the U.S.-born ([https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/venezuelan-immigrants-united-states-2025)
8 immigrants-united-states-2025). These factors mean that the economic impact of Venezuelan
9 immigrants is likely to be particularly positive.

10 22. The proposed TPS termination and subsequent deportation would remove TPS holders
11 from the workforce, eliminating their productivity and tax contributions. The U.S. economy would
12 grow more slowly as a result.

13 23. *Foreign policy and national security.* The February 5, 2025 Federal Register notice
14 justifies TPS termination on the ground that “foreign policy is best served and protected by curtailing
15 policies that facilitate or encourage illegal and destabilizing migration.” In fact, however, it is the
16 proposed termination that would increase the illegal-immigrant population by changing the status of
17 several hundred thousand people living in the United States overnight, undermining the economic and
18 social stability that TPS provides.

19 24. In addition, deporting Venezuelan TPS holders will require cooperation with the
20 Maduro regime. Since the second Trump administration began, there has already been one deal made
21 to resume deportations to Venezuela. These actions run counter to administration policy as espoused
22 elsewhere, since the administration does not recognize the regime as legitimate. In fact, the U.S.
23 government raised the financial reward for information leading to Maduro’s arrest and/or conviction
24 from up to \$15 million to up to \$25 million just last month (January 2025). Cooperating with a dictator
25 to send asylum-seekers to a place known for human rights abuses may also weaken the standing of the
26 United States in the international community and adversely affect national security.

27 **IV. The Termination Notice’s Justifications Do Not Withstand Scrutiny**

28 25. Finally, we find that two of the key reasons cited in the February 5, 2025 termination

1 notice are unsupported.


2 26. *No “Magnet Effect.”* We do not see any reason that the extension of an existing TPS
3 designation would act as an immigration magnet. TPS status is not available to those arriving after
4 the 2023 designation. The current administration’s termination of the parole program makes it
5 clear it is not interested in facilitating additional migration from Venezuela, and a reasonable
6 migrant would not believe that a TPS designation for new Venezuelan immigrants is likely to
7 be issued by this administration. TPS status does not allow individuals to sponsor relatives for
8 migration.

9 27. *Fiscal Impact.* The register notice particularly mentions fiscal impacts on
10 local communities of the recent surge of immigrants. Though immigration is a net fiscal positive
11 for the federal government, it is true that local communities recently receiving large numbers of
12 immigrants have faced challenges ensuring adequate shelter, medical care, and education for
13 those groups (Edelberg and Watson 2022, <https://www.hamiltonproject.org/publication/policy-proposal/a-more-equitable-distribution-of-the-positive-fiscal-benefits-of-immigration/>). However,
14 those who have TPS status have the advantage of receiving a work permit, and are therefore better
15 able to be self-sufficient. Moreover, as noted above Venezuelan immigrants are more educated
16 and have higher labor force participation than average, making it less likely that they are
17 imposing significant burdens on localities. Terminating TPS will increase, not decrease, the
18 burden on localities by preventing TPS holders from working in the formal sector, thus increasing
19 the number of people needing assistance (*e.g.*, the U.S.-citizen children of deported TPS holders
20 and TPS holders who lose their work permit but are not yet removed).

22 28. We conclude that the harms of terminating TPS for Venezuelan migrants far outweigh
23 any purported benefits.

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
2 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3
4 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Washington, DC.

5 /s/ 
6 Tara Watson

7
8 /s/ _____
9 Stan Veuger

1 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the
2 foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

3
4 Executed this 20th day of February, 2025, in Washington, DC.

5 /s/
6 Tara Watson

7
8 /s/
9 Stan Veuger

APPENDIX A

TARA WATSON, Ph.D.

twatson@brookings.edu

Current Positions

Brookings Institution, Director of Center for Economic Security and Opportunity, January 2023 to present, and Whitehead Chair in Economic Studies, July 2023 to present. (Previously David M. Rubenstein Fellow January 2022-July 2023.)

National Bureau of Economic Research, Research Associate, October 2011 to present. Health Economics Program (effective 2011) and Children's Program (effective 2017).

Journal of Human Resources, Co-Editor, March 2020 to present.

Education

Harvard University, Ph.D. in Economics, June 2003.

Fellow in Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy.

National Science Foundation Fellow.

Thesis Title: The Determinants and Consequences of Residential Isolation.

Wesleyan University, B.A. in Economics, May 1996.

Phi Beta Kappa and University Honors.

Research Fields

Applied Microeconomics. Particular interest in U.S. Social Policy, the U.S. Safety Net, and Immigration.

Selected Previous Experience

Williams College, Professor of Economics, July 2017 to June 2024. Previously Assistant Professor 2004-2011, Associate Professor 2011-2017, including four terms as Economics Department Director of Research, two terms Chair of the Program in Public Health, and one term as Division II representative and Chair of the Faculty Steering Committee.

Rockefeller Institute of Government, Richard P. Nathan Fellow, September 2019 to August 2020.

United States Department of Treasury, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Microeconomic Analysis, August 2015 to November 2016. Office of Economic Policy.

Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Visiting Scholar, August 2012 to May 2013. New England Public Policy Center.

University of Michigan, Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research, August 2007 to July 2009.

Princeton University, Postdoctoral Research Associate, September 2003 to July 2004. Office of Population Research and Center for Research on Child Wellbeing.

National Bureau of Economic Research, Research Assistant, June to August 1999.
Research Assistant to Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz.

Tara Watson

Harvard University, Teaching Fellow, September 2000 to May 2001.
Teaching Fellow for Social Analysis 10 taught by Martin Feldstein.

Brookings Institution, Research Assistant, August 1996 to July 1998.
Research Assistant to Clifford Winston.

Book

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Tara Watson

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Tara Watson

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Watson, Tara, 2020. "Will the Public Charge Rule Reduce Safety Net Expenditures?" **Econofact** website, (<https://econofact.org/will-the-public-charge-rule-reduce-safety-net-expenditures>).

Watson, Tara, 2019. "SNAP Benefits and the Government Shutdown." **Econofact** website, (<https://econofact.org/snap-benefits-and-the-government-shutdown>).

Looney, Adam, and Tara Watson, 2018. "Student Loans: Sharing the Risk." **Milken Quarterly**, (<http://www.milkenreview.org/articles/sharing-the-risk>).

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Watson, Tara, 2016. "We Must Avoid Another Lost Decade in Puerto Rico." **Treasury Notes**, U.S. Department of Treasury, (<https://www.treasury.gov/connect/blog/Pages/We-Must-Avoid-Another-Lost-Decade-in-Puerto-Rico.aspx>).

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Watson, Tara, 2015. "Book Review: 'Legacies of the War on Poverty' by Martha J. Bailey and Sheldon Danziger, eds." **Journal of Economic Literature** 53(1): 126-27.

Watson, Tara, 2015. "Room for Debate: Lowering the Drinking Age Has Serious Consequences." *New York Times*. (<http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/02/10/you-must-be-21-to-drink>).

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Tara Watson

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Watson, Tara, 2009. "Marriage Meets the Joneses." **Vox EU**. (<http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/3533>).

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Watson, Tara, 2007. "New Housing, Income Inequality, and Distressed Metropolitan Areas." *Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program Policy Brief Series*

Selected Grants

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, "Understanding the social safety net's impact on food security to inform policy on how best to support children in low-income families," Healthy Eating Research Round 13 Award Number 81352. Grant period November 2023 to November 2025 (PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Tara Watson).

Russell Sage Foundation, "Chilling Effects and Participation in Safety Net Programs among Children of Non-Citizens: Evidence from New York State Administrative Data," Award number 2211-40926. Grant period July 2023 to June 2025. (PI Tara Watson.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, "Living Arrangements and Food Hardship among Seniors," Subaward 3200002889-20-240. Grant Period April 2020 to August 2022. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Lara Shore-Sheppard, consultant Kristin Butcher.)

Russell Sage Foundation, "Does Social Security Reduce Poverty and Boost the Academic Achievement of Low-Income Children?," Award number G-1808-07222. Grant period June 2019 to August 2022. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Lara Shore-Sheppard.)

Peterson Foundation U.S. 2050 Initiative, "Immigration, Care-giving Labor, and Tomorrow's Elderly," Grant Period April 2018 to March 2019. (PI Tara Watson, co-PI Kristin Butcher.)

Russell Sage Foundation, "The Impact of the ACA Medicaid Expansion on Public Program Participation and Labor Market Outcomes of Low-Wage Workers," Award Number 94-17-03, Grant period December 2016 to November 2018. (PI Lara Shore-Sheppard, co-PIs Lucie Schmidt and Tara Watson.)

National Institutes of Health, R03 Small Grant Program, "The Impact of Immigration on the Living Arrangements and Health of the Elderly," Award Number 1R03AG051861-01, Grant period September 2016 to May 2021. (PI Kristin Butcher, Senior Investigator Tara Watson.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Understanding the Relationships between SNAP, Food Security, and Health in the National Health Interview Survey Grant Program, "The Effect of SNAP and the Broader Safety Net on Mental Health and Food Insecurity," Grant Period August 2016 to February 2018. (PI Lucie Schmidt, co-PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Tara Watson.)

National Institutes of Health, R21 Exploratory/Development Grant, "Barriers to Medicaid Participation among Immigrants: A Randomized Experiment," Award Number 1R21HD071361-

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01A1, Grant Period September 2012 to September 2016. (PI Tara Watson, Other Investigator Dean Yang.)

University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research, Research Program on Childhood Hunger Small Grant, “The Effect of Safety Net Programs on Food Insecurity,” Grant Period June 2011 to September 2012. (PI Tara Watson, co-PIs Lara Shore-Sheppard and Lucie Schmidt.)

West Coast Poverty Center Small Grant Competition, “Inside the Refrigerator: Welfare Reform, Immigration Enforcement, and Chilling Effects in Immigrant Medicaid Participation,” Grant Period September 2009 to August 2010. (PI Tara Watson.)

University of Michigan National Poverty Center Small Grant Competition, “Barriers to Medicaid Participation Among Immigrants,” Grant Period March 2009 to March 2010. (PI Tara Watson.)

Williams College Department of Economics Henry George Fund, “Excess School Segregation: Are Schools More Segregated than Neighborhoods, and Why?,” Grant Period August 2009. (PI Tara Watson.)

Fellowships, Honors, Workshops, and Professional Service

Association of Public Policy and Management Policy Council, February 2025 to present.

Association of Public Policy and Management Institutional Representative for Brookings, March 2024 to present.

University of North Carolina Kenan Center Distinguished Fellow, March 2023 to December 2023.

Census Sworn Status, April 2020 to present.

CeMENT Mentor for the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession, November 2013 and January 2020.

GLCA Global Public Health Workshop, Denison University, May 2019.

Williams College Workshop on Inclusive Excellence via Constructive Listening to Student Thinking, January 2019.

Williams College Racial Consciousness in the STEM Classroom Workshop, January 2018 to June 2018.

Williams College Op-Ed Project Workshop, October 2017.

RAND Summer Institute Mini-Medical School for Social Scientists and Summer Institute on Demography, Economics, Psychology, and Epidemiology of Aging Participant, July 2017.

Williams College Teaching in the Diverse Classroom Workshop, February 2014 to May 2014.

Teaching Integrity in Empirical Research Workshop, October 2013.

Inaugural Teaching Poverty 101 Workshop, University of Wisconsin Institute for Research on Poverty, June 2013.

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Robert Wood Johnson Scholar in Health Policy Research, August 2007 to July 2009.

Harvard Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy Doctoral Fellow, September 1999 to June 2003.

Social Science Research Council Program in Applied Economics Fellow, September 2001 to August 2002.

Lincoln Land Institute Dissertation Fellow, August 2001.

National Science Foundation Graduate Student Fellow, September 1998 to August 2001.

Wesleyan University, Phi Beta Kappa Society and University Honors, May 1996.

Presentations, Seminars, and Podcasts (non-job market)

2025: American Economic Association annual meeting, Healthy Eating Research conference (expected), University of Delaware (expected), Williams College (expected).

2024: American Economic Association annual meeting, Association of Public Policy and Management conference, Brookings Institution, Congressional Budget Office Panel of Economic Advisers, Cosmos club, Econofact podcast, Leading for Kids, Immigration Law and Policy conference, National Economists Club, New York University, White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, University of Chicago, University of North Carolina, University of Wisconsin.

2023: American Enterprise Institute, AEI Research conference (discussant), American Public Policy and Management Annual Meeting (expected), Atlanta Workshop on Public Policy and Child Well-being, Brookings Institution, Center for Global Development, Eastern Economic Association (discussant), European Policy Centre (expected), George Mason University (expected), MITRE Corporation research conference, Peterson Institute of International Economics, Russell Sage Foundation, University of North Carolina, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, United States International Trade Commission, University of the District of Columbia.

2022: Across the Margin podcast, American Enterprise Institute event on fiscal impacts of immigration, Aspen Economic Strategy Group meeting, Brookings Institution Book Event for *The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear*, Brookings Institution Webinar on immigration and caregiving, Brookings Institution/CSIS event on American talent, Children Thrive Action Network, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis (discussant), Georgetown University, Hamilton Project conference on immigration (expected), Immigration today podcast, Liberal Arts College Labor/Public Conference (keynote), National Bureau of Economic Research Immigrants and the U.S. Economy conference (discussant), National Institutes of Aging conference on economic vulnerability, New Bazaar podcast, New Books podcast, University of Chicago Press By the Book webinar, University of District of Columbia, University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research grants conference, Williams College Public Health Fireside Chat with Richard Besser.

2021 and earlier: American Economic Association meeting (discussant), American Public Policy and Management Annual Meeting, American Society of Health Economists (x5, discussant x3), American Society of Health Economists (discussant), Brandeis University, Brookings-Wharton Conference on Urban Affairs, Columbia University, Communities Mobilizing for Change on Alcohol Research Lecture Series, Eastern Economic Association Meetings, Econofact podcast, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (x2), Hamilton Project, Harvard University, HUBWeek Boston Econofact Panel, Joint BU-MIT-Harvard Health Economics Seminar, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Land and the City Conference (discussant), MacArthur Network Conference, Mellon 23 Workshop on Economic History and Development (discussant), National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Institute (x2),

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National Tax Association conference, OECD Conference on Economic Insecurity, Population Association of America (x3), Population Association of America Economic Demography Workshop, Princeton University, Public Finance Review Special Conference, RAND Corporation, Regional Science and Urban Economics Conference, Research Program on Childhood Hunger Small Grant Conference, Robert Wood Johnson Scholars in Health Policy Program Annual Meeting (x2), Saint Michael's College, Society of Labor Economists (x3), Southern Economic Association (x2), Southeastern Health Economics Study Group Conference, SUNY University at Albany, University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Irvine, University of Colorado, University of Connecticut, University of Maryland at Baltimore, University of Michigan (x2), University of Nevada at Las Vegas, University of New Hampshire, University of Notre Dame, University of Virginia, University of Washington West Coast Poverty Center, Urban Economics Association Conference (discussant), U.S. 2050 Peterson Foundation Grant Conferences, USDA Food and Nutrition Service, Wellesley College, Wesleyan University (x2), Women in Economics Research conference (opening remarks), Williams College Bicentennial Award (moderator), Williams College Economics (x4), Williams College Public Health Panel on Coronavirus (moderator), Williams Economics panel on the economics of Covid, Williams College Faculty Lecture Series.

Referee/Reviewer Experience

American Economic Journal: Applied Economics (x6), American Economic Journal: Economic Policy (x8), American Economic Review (x3), American Journal of Health Economics (x4), American Law and Economics Review, Applied Economics and Public Policy, Berkeley Electronic Journal, Contemporary Economic Policy (x2), Canadian Journal of Economics, Demography (x7), Economic Inquiry (x2), Economics of Education Review (x2), Economics and Human Biology, Economics of Education Review, Education Finance and Policy, Forum for Health Economics and Policy, Hamilton Project Journalist Webinar, Health Affairs, Health Economics (x5), Housing Policy Debate (x2), Industrial Relations, Journal of Health Economics (x8), Journal of Health Politics, Health Policy, and Law, Journal of the European Economics Association, Journal of Human Resources (x12), Proceedings of the Pakistan Academy of Sciences, Journal of the Japanese and International Economies, Journal of Labor Economics (x2), Journal of Labor Research, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management (x9), Journal of Population Economics (x2), Journal of Public Economics (x9), Journal of Regional Science, Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs, Journal of Urban Economics (x2), Labour Economics (x2), National Science Foundation (x5), National Tax Journal, Quarterly Journal of Economics (x15), Review of Economic Inequality, Review of Economics of the Household (x3), Review of Economics and Statistics (x3), Russell Sage Foundation, Science, Social Forces, Social Problems, Social Science and Medicine (x2), Social Service Review, Southern Economic Journal (x2), State and Local Government Review (x5), Urban Geography, Urban Studies(x2), USDA/University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research (x2), Williams College Women in Economics Research Conference.

Internal Service

Sadie Collective mentor for Brookings poster session (February 2024)
Elected Member, Faculty Steering Committee (July 2020 to June 2022)
Co-Organizer, Promoting Inclusion in Economic Research Conference (July 2019 to June 2022)
Bolin Fellow Mentoring Committee (July 2021 to June 2022)
Advisory Committee for Program in Public Health (September 2011 to present)
Ombudsperson Search Committee (June 2021 to October 2021)
Co-Organizer, Inclusive Williams Roundtable Project (December 2020 to October 2021)
Catholic Chaplain Search Committee (January 2020 to June 2021)
Chair, Program in Public Health (January 2021 to June 2021, and three previous terms)
Chair, Faculty Steering Committee (July 2020 to December 2020)
Strategic Planning Working Group on Faculty and Staff Development (May 2019 to June 2020)
Leader, Public Health Self-Study (January 2019 to April 2020)

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Committee on Priorities and Resources (July 2017 to June 2019)
Economics Department Bolin Committee (July 2018 to June 2019)
Co-Organizer, Women in Economic Research conference (July 2018 to April 2019)
New Faculty Mentor (January 2014-December 2014, September 2017-June 2018)
Committee on Academic Standing (January 2017 to June 2017)
Bookstore Committee (July 2014 to June 2015)
Organizer, Williams Poverty Initiative Panel on First Generation Faculty (February 2015)
Chair, Economics Curriculum Committee (July 2013 to June 2014)
Economics Department Hiring Committee (July 2011 to June 2012)
Bolin Fellow Selection Committee (December 2011-January 2012)
Elected Member, Committee on Educational Policy (February 2010-June 2012)
Committee on Undergraduate Life (September 2006-June 2007 and September 2009-February 2010)
Chair, Minority Coalition Funding Subcommittee of CUL (September 2009-February 2010)
Panelist, Students for Social Justice Dinner on Health Reform (Fall 2009)
Speaker, Women's Center Lunch on Health Reform (Fall 2009)
Co-chair, Diversity Subcommittee of CUL (September 2006-June 2007)
Mead Internship Committee (September 2005-May 2006)
Advisory Committee on Shareholder Responsibility (January 2006-June 2007)
Economics Department Graduate/Post-graduate Advisor (2005-2006 and 2006-2007)
Co-organizer, Brown Bag Lunch (2005-2006 and Fall 2006)

Research Supervision and Advising

Mina Burns, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2021-Spring 2022)
Vanessa Oeien, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2021-Spring 2022)
Seha Karabacak, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2021)
Daniel Page, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring-Summer 2021)
Bashudha Dhamala, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2020)
Mina Burns, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2020)
Peter Le, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring 2020)
Ahna Pearson, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2019)
Marcone Correia, Independent Study (Spring 2019)
Betty Chen, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2019)
Adam Zoen, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2018-Spring 2019)
Coly Elhai, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2018-Spring 2019)
Ben Gips, Independent Study (Fall 2018-Winter 2019)
Anna Passanante, Research Assistant co-Supervisor (Summer 2018)
Arno Cai, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring-Summer 2018 and Spring 2020)
Ryan Kelley, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2018)
Kathy Bi, Thesis Advisor (Spring 2018)
Sichao Liu, Thesis Co-Advisor (Fall 2017-Spring 2018)
Anand Butler, Research Assistant Supervisor (Fall 2017-Spring 2018)
Yinga Xia, Research Assistant Supervisor (Winter 2017)
Mie Mizutani, Research Assistant Supervisor (Winter 2017)
Catherine Jiang, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2014 and January 2015)
Lei Brutus, Research Assistant Co-Supervisor (Summer 2014)
Sam Woodbury, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2014)
Wendy Magoronga, Thesis Advisor (Spring 2012)
Wendy Magoronga, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2011 and Summer 2012)
Alexa Lutchen, Thesis Advisor and Van Duyne Supervisor (Summer 2010-Spring 2011)
Leland Brewster, Thesis Advisor (Fall 2010-Spring 2011)
Leland Brewster, Research Assistant Supervisor (Spring 2010)
Corey Paulish, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2009)
Joanna Hoffman, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2009)

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Aatif Abbas, Research Assistant Supervisor (Summer 2006)
David Phillips, Independent Study (Fall 2010-Winter 2011)
Courtney Gainer, Independent Study (Fall 2006-Winter 2007)
Amelia Hawkins, Independent Study (Winter 2006)
Mia Desimone, Second Reader of Anthropology Thesis (Spring 2010)
Candice Corveti, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2007)
Andrew Pocius, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2006)
Andra Hibbert, Second Reader of Thesis (Spring 2005)

Courses (Williams College)

Econ 019 Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (Winter 2005, Winter 2006, Winter 2012, Winter 2015)
Econ 110 Introductory Microeconomics (Fall 2005, Spring 2006)
Econ 205 Public Finance (Fall 2004, Spring 2017, Fall 2017)
Econ 255 Econometrics (Spring 2006, Spring 2007, Spring 2010, Spring 2011, Spring 2012, Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Spring 2017, Fall 2018)*
Econ 373 Economics of Immigration (Fall 2021)
Econ 456 Poverty and Place (Fall 2006)*
Econ 468 Your Money or Your Life: Health Disparities in the United States (Fall 2009, Fall 2011, Spring 2014, Spring 2015, Spring 2018, Spring 2019, Spring 2021, Fall 2021)*
Econ 503 Econometrics Advanced Section (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2017, Fall 2018)
Econ 510 Econometrics (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2005, Fall 2006, Fall 2009, Fall 2011)
Econ 511 Econometrics Combined Section (CDE Masters Level, Fall 2004)

*Courses each included the supervision of 7-18 original empirical projects.

Personal Information

Married, three children.
U.S. citizen, born in Washington, D.C.

Updated 02.18.25.

APPENDIX B

STAN ANTONIUS VEUGER
(last updated: February 16, 2025)

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Professional Experience

Fall 2016, 2018-2021, 2024, 2025	Visiting Lecturer of Economics, Harvard University
2023-Present	Expert, Aurora Macro Strategies
2021-Present	Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
2017-Present	Future World Fellow, Center for the Governance of Change, IE University
2016-Present	Consultant, expertpowerhouse
May 2022	Campbell Visiting Fellow, Hoover Institution
2018-2021	Extramural Fellow, Tilburg School of Economics and Management, Tilburg University
2013-2021	Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute
2012-2013	Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Education

LL.B., Laws, University of London, 2020
Ph.D., Economics, Harvard University, 2012
A.M., Economics, Harvard University, 2009
M.Sc., Economics, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2005
CEMS MIM, International Management, CEMS - The Global Alliance in Management Education, 2004
Doctorandus, Spanish Language and Literature, Universiteit Utrecht, 2004
Doctorandus, Business Administration, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2004

Articles in Academic Journals

“[Implications of Cannabis Legalization for the US Federal Budget](#)” (Forthcoming) *Public Budgeting & Finance*. Joint with Alex Brill and Brian Miller.

“[Destruction, Policy, and the Evolving Consequences of Washington, DC’s 1968 Civil Disturbance](#)” (Forthcoming) *Review of Economics and Statistics*. Joint with Leah Brooks and Jonathan Rose.

“[Lessons for Cannabinoid Regulation from Electronic Nicotine Delivery System Product Regulation](#)” (2024) *Health Affairs Scholar* 2(8): qxae101. Joint with Paul Larkin, Brian Miller, and Brian Yagi.

“[Spatial Spillovers and the Effects of Fiscal Stimulus: Evidence from Pandemic-Era Federal Aid for State and Local Governments](#)” (2024) *Spatial Economic Analysis* 19(3): 411-35. Special Issue on Spatial Macroeconomics. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, John Kearns, and Beatrice Lee.

“[How Did Federal Aid to States and Localities Affect Testing and Vaccine Delivery?](#)” (2023) *Journal of Public Economics* 225: 104972. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, Philip Hoxie, and John Kearns.

“[Moving to Density: Half a Century of Housing Costs and Wage Premia from Queens to King Salmon](#)” (2023) *Journal of Public Economics* 222: 104906. Joint with Philip Hoxie and Daniel Shoag.

“[Economic Shocks and Clinging](#)” (2022) *Contemporary Economic Policy* 40(3): 456-475. Joint with Michael Strain.

“[Medicaid and Fiscal Federalism During the COVID-19 Pandemic](#)” (2021) *Public Budgeting & Finance* 41(4): 94-109. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Benedic Ippolito.

- [“Politics and the Distribution of Federal Funds: Evidence from Federal Legislation in Response to COVID-19”](#) (2021) *Journal of Public Economics* 204: 104554. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Ban-the-Box Measures Help High-Crime Neighborhoods”](#) (2021) *Journal of Law and Economics* 64(1): 85-105. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Implications of the COVID-19 Pandemic for State Government Tax Revenues”](#) (2020) *National Tax Journal* 73(3): 619-644. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Taking My Talents to South Beach \(and Back\): Evidence from a Superstar Athlete”](#) (2019) *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 22(12): 1950-1960. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Rules versus Home Rule: Local Government Responses to Negative Revenue Shocks”](#) (2019) *National Tax Journal* 72(3): 543-574. Joint with Daniel Shoag and Cody Tuttle.
- [“Do Land Use Restrictions Increase Restaurant Quality and Diversity?”](#) (2019) *Journal of Regional Science* 59(3): 435-451. Special Issue on Endogenous Amenities and Cities. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Shops and the City: Evidence on Local Externalities and Local Government Policy from Big-Box Bankruptcies”](#) (2018) *Review of Economics and Statistics* 100(3): 440-453. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Information Frictions in Uncertain Regulatory Environments: Evidence from U.S. Commercial Banks”](#) (2017) *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 79(2): 205-233. Joint with Kristin Wilson.
- [“Risks to the Returns to Medical Innovation: The Case of Myriad Genetics”](#) (2017) *Contemporary Economic Policy* 35(2): 345-357. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Uncertainty and the Geography of the Great Recession”](#) (2016) *Journal of Monetary Economics* 84: 84-93. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Dividends and Investment: Evidence of Heterogeneous Firm Behavior”](#) (2016) *Public Finance Review* 44(6): 769-787. Joint with Aparna Mathur, Nirupama Rao, and Michael Strain.
- [“Repeal of the Medicare Sustainable Growth Rate: Direct and Indirect Consequences”](#) (2015) *American Medical Association Journal of Ethics* 17(11): 1053-1058. Special Issue on High-Value Care. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Football under Pressure: Assessing Malfeasance in Deflategate”](#) (2015) *Journal of Sports Analytics* 1(2): 103-110. Special Issue on Sports Law Analytics. Joint with Kevin Hassett and Joseph Sullivan.
- [“Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement”](#) (2013) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(4): 1633-1685. Joint with Andreas Madestam, Daniel Shoag, and David Yanagizawa-Drott.

Working Papers

- [“Was Pandemic Fiscal Relief Effective Fiscal Stimulus? Evidence from Aid to State and Local Governments,”](#) NBER Working Paper 30168. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie.
- [“What Do States Do with Fiscal Windfalls? Evidence from the Pandemic,”](#) AEI Economics Working Paper 2024-05. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens, Oliver Giesecke, and Joshua Rauh.
- [“Aid for Incumbents: The Electoral Consequences of COVID-19 Relief,”](#) AEI Economics Working Paper 2024-14. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Julia Payson.

Policy Briefs and Such

- [“Immigration and the Macroeconomy in the Second Trump Administration”](#) (2024) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Brookings Institution, and Niskanen Center, December 3. Joint with Wendy Edelberg, Cecilia Esterline, and Tara Watson.
- [“How Do Workers Perceive the Risks from Automation and the Opportunities to Retrain? Evidence from a Survey of Truck Drivers”](#) (2024) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2024-08. Joint with Daniel Shoag and Michael Strain.
- [“Immigration and the Macroeconomy after 2024”](#) (2024) American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Brookings Institution, and Niskanen Center, October 16. Joint with Wendy Edelberg, Cecilia Esterline, and Tara Watson.

- [“Candidates’ Dueling Child Credit Expansions Explained”](#) (2024) *Tax Notes Federal* 185 (October 7): 115-118. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- [“Aid for Incumbents: The Electoral Consequences of COVID-19 Relief”](#) (2024) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economic Policy* 401. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Julia Payson.
- [“Implications of Cannabis Legalization for the US Federal Budget”](#) (2024) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economic Policy* 396. Joint with Alex Brill and Brian Miller.
- [“Housing and the American Worker”](#) (2024) The American Worker Project: Toward a New Consensus. Economic Innovation Group, July.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2024: Crimes, Convictions, and Corrections: Long-Run Trends in the Capital Region”](#) (2024) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 17. Joint with Domonic Bearfield, Leah Brooks, and Ferdinando Monte.
- [“Place-Based Policy and Economic Development”](#) (2024) *Perspectives on Place-Based Policy: Strategies for Workforce and Economic Development*. Workforce Futures Initiative. American Enterprise Institute, March 27.
- [“Working from Density,”](#) (2023) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2023-05. Joint with Leah Brooks and Philip Hoxie.
- [“Protecting Workers, Firms, and Worker-Firm Attachment During COVID-19: Economic Considerations for the Assessment of Policy Measures”](#) (2023) World Bank Jobs Group *Jobs Notes* 15. Joint with Eliana Carranza and Michael Weber.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2023: The Ups and Downs of Mortgage Markets from the Financial Crisis Through the Pandemic”](#) (2023) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 18. Joint with Leah Brooks and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“Was Pandemic Fiscal Relief Effective Fiscal Stimulus? Evidence from Aid to State and Local Governments”](#) (2022) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 299. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2022: Commuting Patterns and Transportation Infrastructure”](#) (2022) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 18. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“El futuro del Partido Republicano”](#) (2021) *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político* 71: 43-50.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2021: Where Capital Region Workers Live and Labor”](#) (2021) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 19. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“EE.UU.: del COVID a las elecciones presidenciales - Una mirada a las agendas republicana y demócrata”](#) (2020) *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político* 68: 73-83.
- [“The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Revenues of State and Local Governments: An Update”](#) (2020) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2020-07. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- [“Which Taxes Pay for Which State and Local Employees?”](#) (2020) *Mercatus Center COVID-19 Economic Recovery Policy Brief Series*, July 2. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“State of the Capital Region 2020: A Region in Demographic and Economic Transition”](#) (2020) The George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, May 19. Joint with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian J. McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz.
- [“Time to Prepare for Voting by Mail”](#) (2020) *Mercatus Center COVID-19 Crisis Response Policy Brief Series*, March 31. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Modern Monetary Theory and Policy”](#) (2019) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2019-01.
- [“Strategic Voting in Proportional Representation Systems: A Model with Evidence from the Netherlands”](#) (2018) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2018-01b. Joint with Tim Ganser.
- [“Shops and the City: Evidence on Local Externalities and Local Government Policy from Big-Box Bankruptcies”](#) (2017) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 92. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- [“Adjusting to the Border Adjustment Tax: Imperfections and Unintended Consequences”](#) (2017) *Mercatus on Policy*, March.
- [“Uncertainty and the Geography of the Great Recession”](#) (2017) *Cato Institute Research Briefs in Economy Policy* 69. Joint with Daniel Shoag.

- “[Door fixatie op langdurige stagnatie mis je veel](#)” (2016) *Economisch Statistische Berichten* 101(4742): 673-675. Joint with Roel Beetsma and Raymond Gradus.
- “[Business Cycle Shocks to Foreign Aid Flows](#)” (2016) *Procedia Engineering* 159: 326-328. Joint with Nikolai Boboshko.
- “[On the Wells Report](#)” (2015) *AEI Economic Perspectives* 2015-06a. Joint with Kevin Hassett and Joseph Sullivan.

Edited Volumes

- [Preserving Links in the Pandemic: Policies to Maintain Worker-Firm Attachment in the OECD](#). Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2023. Joint with Michael Strain (eds.).
- [Economic Freedom and Human Flourishing: Perspectives from Political Philosophy](#). Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2016. Joint with Michael Strain (eds.).

Book Chapters

- “Simulating Public Pension Funding with Realistic Asset Prices,” in Healey, Thomas, and Roger Porter (ed.) *Gathering Storm: The Risks of State Pension Underfunding*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming. Joint with James Farrell and Daniel Shoag.
- “Intergovernmental Grants and Policy Competition: Concepts, Institutions, and Evidence,” in Agrawal, David, James Poterba, and Owen Zidar (ed.) [Policy Responses to Tax Competition](#). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Forthcoming. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- “Modern Monetary Theory Has No Roadmap for Dealing with Inflation,” in Bourne, Ryan (ed.) *The War on Prices: Misconceptions about Inflation, Policy, and Value*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2024.
- “[Lessons from COVID-19 Aid to State and Local Governments for the Design of Federal Automatic Stabilizers](#),” in Kearney, Melissa S., and Amy Ganz (ed.) *Economic Policy in a More Uncertain World*. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute Press, 2023. Joint with Jeffrey Clemens.
- “Populismo económico y globalización en el siglo XXI,” in Sánchez Costa, Fernando, Miriam Tey, and Martín Gurriá (ed.) [En defensa de la democracia: Crisis política, populismo y nacionalismo desde Barcelona a Washington](#). Córdoba, Spain: Editorial Almuzara, 2019.
- “The Economics of Prisoner Reentry,” in Elizabeth English and Gerard Robinson (eds.) [Education for Liberation: The Politics of Promise and Reform Inside and Beyond America’s Prisons](#). Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield, 2019. Joint with Daniel Shoag.
- “Harvard in the Past Quarter Century and the Next Century,” in *Harvard and Holland: 375 Years*, 93-94. Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Indivers, 2011.

Letters to Editors of Medical Journals

- “[Reduced Opioid Marketing Could Limit Prescribing Information for Physicians](#),” *JAMA Internal Medicine* (2018) 178: 10, 1724. Joint with Benedic Ippolito.
- “[Letter Regarding Maryland Alcohol Sales Tax and Sexually Transmitted Infections](#),” *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* (2016) 50:5, e159. Joint with Roeland J. Middelbeek.
- “[Letter to the Editor Re: Neurobehavioral Deficits, Diseases, and Associated Costs of Exposure to Endocrine-Disrupting Chemicals in the European Union](#),” *Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism* (2015) 100:4, L52–L53. Joint with Roeland J. Middelbeek.

Recent Teaching Experience

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Fall 2016, 2018-2021, 2024 | Visiting Lecturer, Department of Economics, Harvard University, “Public Economics: Designing Government Policy” |
| Summer 2024 | Instructor, AEI Summer Honors Program, “Across Borders: Navigating Globalization” |

Spring 2024	Guest Lecturer, George Mason University, "Applied Econometrics"
April 2019-2021	Guest Lecturer, Tilburg School of Economics and Management, "Public Sector Economics"
April 2021	Guest Lecturer, Taylor University, "The Pursuit of Happiness: Foundations and Future of American Government"
December 2019	Guest Lecturer, Georgetown University, "Markets and the Making of the U.S."
May 2018	Guest Lecturer, Eitan Berglas School of Economics, Tel Aviv University, "Regional and Urban Economics"
February 2018	Guest Lecturer, Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration, George Washington University, "Criminal Justice Policy: Theory and Practice"
February 2017	Guest Lecturer, Institute for Global Leadership, Tufts University, "Education for Public Inquiry and International Citizenship"

Legislative Testimony, Public Comments on Proposed Rules and Regulations, and Amicus Briefs

Brief for Amici Curiae Drs. Stan Veuger, Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, & Leah Boustan in Support of Defendants-Appellees and Supporting Affirmance. *State of Texas et al. v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security et al.*, Civil Action No. 6:23-cv-00007. United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. August 2, 2024. Joint with Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, and Leah Boustan.

Brief for Tax Economists as Amici Curiae in Support of Respondent. *Charles G. Moore and Kathleen F. Moore v. United States of America*, No. 22-800, Supreme Court of the United States. October 23, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill, Kyle Pomerleau, Michael Strain, and Alan Viard.

Memorandum of Law as Amici Curiae in Opposition to Plaintiffs' Request for Injunctive and Other Equitable Relief. *State of Texas et al. v. U.S. Department of Homeland Security et al.*, Civil Action No. 6:23-cv-00007, United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Victoria Division. August 11, 2023. Joint with Tara Watson, Douglas Holtz-Eakin, and Leah Boustan.

Testimony in Support of the BABY Act of 2023. Written Testimony to the Council of the District of Columbia Committee on Housing, May 31, 2023. Joint with Fadwa Berouel.

Public Comment on the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Proposed Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Rule, FR-6123-P-02. March 16, 2020. Joint with Daniel Shoag.

Public Comment on OPM's Proposed Revision of Declaration for Federal Employment Optional Form (OF) 306. April 22, 2019.

Re: H.R. 1076 (Fair Chance to Compete for Jobs Act of 2019). Letter to the House Committee on Oversight and Reform, March 25, 2019. Joint with Terry-Ann Craigie, Dallan Flake, John Schmitt, Heidi Shierholz, Daniel Shoag, and Valerie Wilson.

Policy Uncertainty and the Small-Business Economy. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Economic Growth, Tax and Capital Access, February 16, 2017.

Even If You Like Your Plan, You May Well Lose Your Plan. And Even If You Like Your Doctor, You May Well Lose Your Doctor. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Health, July 28, 2014.

Comments on H.R. 2996 "Revitalize American Manufacturing and Innovation Act of 2013." U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, Subcommittee on Research and Technology, December 12, 2013.

Recent Debates, Panels, Presentations and Workshops

2025	National Capital Area Political Science Association American Politics Workshop
2024	AEI, AEI-Brookings-HKS Workforce Futures Initiative, Embassy of Estonia in the United States, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, Liberty Fund, North American Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, Redeemer University

- 2023 AEI, AEI-Brookings-HKS Workforce Futures Initiative, Annual Conference of the American Real Estate and Urban Economics, Cato Institute Sphere Summit: Foundations of Civic Culture, DC History Conference, Harvard University, Hertog Foundation Political Studies Program, Holland on the Hill, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, National Bureau of Economic Research, Netherland-America Foundation, VVD USA
- 2022 AEI, Fall Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Brookings Institution, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology Research and Policy Conference, Hoover Institution, Impact Summit America, North American Meeting of the Urban Economics Association, Washington DC Urban Economics Day, West Michigan Policy Forum Biennial Conference
- 2021 AEI, Americans for Tax Reform, European User Conference for EU-Microdata, Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Graduate School USA, Harvard University, Netherland-America Foundation
- 2020 AEI, Americans for Tax Reform, Aspen Institute España, Carnegie Mellon University Tepper School of Business, Delegation of the European Union to the United States, Embassy of the Netherlands in the United States, FreedomWorks, Fundación para el Análisis y los Estudios Sociales, Harvard University, Lincoln Network, Netherland-America Foundation, Seaside Institute

Recent Opinion Writing

- “Even the Mere Threat of Tariffs Causes Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, February 12, 2025.
- “Brazil’s Slow-Burning Economic Crisis Might Be the U.S. Future,” *Foreign Policy*, February 10, 2025. Joint with Mikkel Davies.
- “Trump’s Tariffs Would Make Fentanyl Cheaper,” *AEIdeas*, January 31, 2025.
- “Trump’s Tariffs Would Attract Illegal Immigrants,” *AEIdeas*, January 31, 2025.
- “Tariffs and Exchange Rates (and Stephen Miran),” *AEIdeas*, December 27, 2024.
- “Forward Guidance Continues to Lead the Fed Astray,” *AEIdeas*, December 26, 2024. Joint with Mikkel Davies.
- “SALT Is Not as Bad for You as the Experts Claim,” *AEIdeas*, December 13, 2024.
- “Donald Trump’s Immigration Policies Would Dampen GDP Growth,” *AEIdeas*, November 5, 2024. Joint with Wendy Edelberg and Tara Watson.
- “Trump Proposes Bringing Back the Deduction for Auto Loan Interest,” *AEIdeas*, October 16, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- “Overtime Income Tax Break: Not Illogical, Just Costly and Complicated,” *AEIdeas*, October 7, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- “The Federal Reserve Needs to Stop Looking Backward,” *Foreign Policy*, September 16, 2024. Joint with Mikkel Davies.
- “A Tip Exemption Is Not Sound Tax Policy,” *AEIdeas*, August 16, 2024. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- “The New Dutch Government Is a Total Mess,” *Foreign Policy*, July 11, 2024.
- “The Center Holds in the European Parliament,” *AEIdeas*, June 11, 2024.
- “Jared Bernstein, MMT, and Fighting Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, May 14, 2024.
- “Don’t Gut 401ks and IRAs to Save Social Security,” *Liberty Lens – An Economics Substack*, January 24, 2024. Joint with Joshua Rauh.
- “This Corporate Law Case Could Accidentally Overturn U.S. Taxes,” *Foreign Policy*, December 4, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill and Kyle Pomerleau.
- “Populist Rage Gives Dutch Far Right a Worrying Shot at Power,” *Foreign Policy*, November 27, 2023.
- “Speculating About the Upcoming Election in the Netherlands,” *AEIdeas*, November 17, 2023.

“The Supreme Court Should Leave the Tax Code Alone,” *AEIdeas*, October 24, 2023. Joint with Alex Brill, Kyle Pomerleau, Michael Strain, and Alan Viard.

“The British Experiment in Self-Government Continues,” *Foreign Policy*, July 22, 2023.

“The Great Recession, COVID-19, Interest Hikes Left a 15-Year Mark on Housing,” *Greater Greater Washington*, July 17, 2023 (with Leah Brooks, Jenny Schuetz, and Daniel Burge).

“The New Washington Consensus is Wrong,” *Foreign Policy*, June 12, 2023 (with James Capretta).

“Americans Need to Acknowledge Their Unwritten Constitution,” *Foreign Policy*, May 6, 2023.

“The American System of Fiscal Federalism,” *The American System*, March 30, 2023; *The American Conservative*, March 30, 2023 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“The Netherlands’ Eternal Prime Minister Survives Another Populist Wave,” *Foreign Policy*, March 20, 2023.

“Republican Brinkmanship Over Debt Ceiling Risks US Economy, Ignores Core Problems,” *The UnPopulist*, February 21, 2023.

“Biden Can Use a First Fix for a Broken Immigration System,” *Foreign Policy*, January 30, 2023 (with Alex Nowrasteh and Tara Watson).

“We Gave States Too Much COVID Relief,” *The Bulwark*, January 25, 2023 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“From the AEI Archive: AEI Scholars on Inflation,” *AEIdeas*, October 17, 2022 (with Karlyn Bowman).

“The Dutch Farmers’ Revolt Isn’t Brexit or MAGA,” *The UnPopulist*, September 10, 2022.

“It Is Simply Not the Case That Globalization ‘Led To Economic Hardship Among Working Class Families,’” *The International Economy*, Summer, 2022.

“Russian Sanctions Are Working but Slowly,” *Foreign Policy*, July 18, 2022 (with Oleg Korenok and Swapnil Singh).

“Covid-19 Federal Assistance to State and Local Governments and Its Consequences,” *VoxEU*, July 11, 2022 (with Jeffrey Clemens and Philip Hoxie).

“Is the European Union on Course to Become the Big Loser in the Global Tech Race?” *The International Economy*, Spring, 2022.

“Here Are the Main Tools for Fighting Inflation,” *The Bulwark*, May 11, 2022 (with Daniel Shoag).

“Greater Washington’s Commuters Continue to Choose Gridlock,” *The Avenue: Rethinking Metropolitan America*, Brookings Institution, May 6, 2022; *Greater Greater Washington* May 20, 2022 (with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz).

“Modern Economics Is Not An Illuminati Conspiracy,” *American Compass*, March 29, 2022.

“The Economy Is Still in Pandemic Shock. But Some State Governments Are Flush with Cash,” *Washington Post*, December 15, 2021.

“No, Eliminating the SALT Cap Will Not Reduce Charitable Giving,” *AEIdeas*, October 8, 2021; *Washington Examiner*, October 11, 2021; *Yahoo! Money*, October 11, 2021; *The Buffalo Chronicle*, October 25, 2021 (with Kyle Pomerleau).

“Christian Democratic Losses and Social-Democratic Gains, This Time in Germany,” *AEIdeas*, September 27, 2021; “German Election: Social Democrats Score and Christian Democrats Lose,” *The National Interest*, October 6, 2021.

“Progress and New Challenges on the International Travel Front,” *AEIdeas*, September 22, 2021.

“Biden’s Travel Ban Remains Indefensible,” *AEIdeas*, September 17, 2021.

“Biden’s Cruel and Bizarre Travel Ban,” *AEIdeas*, September 9, 2021.

“As European Christian Democrats Continue Their Decline, Social-Democrats Arise,” *AEIdeas*, August 25, 2021.

“Inflation Won’t Just Hurt the Rich,” *Persuasion*, June 30, 2021 (with Daniel Shoag).

Contribution to “Is the G7 Tax Initiative Another Form of Economic Colonialism?” *IFC Review*, June 16, 2021.

“What Pre-Pandemic Job Trends Suggest About the Post-Pandemic Future of the Capital Region,” *The Avenue: Rethinking Metropolitan America*, Brookings Institution, May 12, 2021; *Greater Greater Washington*, May 14, 2021 (with Jaclene Begley, Leah Brooks, Brian McCabe, and Jenny Schuetz).

“State and Local Government Budgets Are in Better Shape than Expected,” *AEIdeas*, February 2, 2021 (with Jeffrey Clemens).

“How to Make Biden’s American Rescue Plan Better,” *The Bulwark*, February 1, 2021.

“Time for Congress to Shape Commerce,” *The Bulwark*, January 25, 2021 (with Ryan C. Berg and Lauri Tähtinen).

“Trump Failed. And So Did Trumpism.” *The Bulwark*, January 21, 2021 (with James Capretta).

Select Media Appearances

Video Al Jazeera English “Inside Story,” “News,” “NewsGrid,” “Newshour,” and “Quotable,” Americano Media, “Así Está el Mundo,” Arise TV “Arise Review,” Arizona PBS “Cronkite News,” Armstrong TV “The Right Side,” The Blaze TV “Real News,” CBC News Network “Power and Politics,” CBN “Faith Nation,” CGTN “Global Business America,” CNBC “Nightly Business Report” and “Squawk Box,” CNBC Asia “Capital Connection,” CNN en Español “CNN Dinero,” “Choque de Opiniones,” and “Directo USA,” CNN International “CNN Today,” C-SPAN “Washington Journal,” C-SPAN 2 Book TV “After Words,” Entravision “Perspectiva Naccional” and “Política Ya con Tsi-Tsi-Ki Félix,” EWTN “News Nightly,” Foundation for Constitutional Government “Conversations with Bill Kristol,” Fox Business Network “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” “Making Money with Charles Payne,” “Mornings with Maria,” and “The Willis Report,” FoxNews.com “Power Play,” Fox News Channel “America’s Newsroom,” “The Real Story with Gretchen Carlson,” “Special Report with Bret Baier,” and “Your World with Neil Cavuto,” France 2 “Le Journal de 20 Heures,” HuffPost Live, i24NEWS “i24 News Desk,” “Global Eye,” and “The Rundown,” MSNBC “MSNBC Live with Katy Tur,” Nederland 1 “Pauw en Witteman,” News 5 Cleveland, Newsmax TV “The Steve Malzberg Show,” NOS “Achtuurjournaal” and “Amerika Kiest,” NTN24 “Cuestión de Poder,” “Efecto Naím,” “Informativo NTN,” “La Tarde – Fin de Semana,” “Nuestras Noticias,” and “Poder Latino,” RTVE “El Mundo en 24 Horas,” SBS6 “Lotto Weekend Miljonairs,” Sky News Arabia, Telemundo “Al Rojo Vivo” and “Noticias Telemundo,” Telemundo 44 “Noticiero,” The Young Turks “Indisputable with Dr. Rashad Richey,” TRT World “DC Direct,” “Roundtable,” and “Newshour,” TV One “NewsOne Now,” TV Venezuela “Código 58,” Univision “¡Despierta América!,” “Noticiero Univision,” and “Noticiero Univision: Edición Nocturna,” Univision Boston, Univision Washington DC, Voice of America “El Mundo al Día” and “Foro Interamericano,” WUSA “9News Now at 7.”

Audio 101.1 FM The Answer “The Dave Elswick Show,” 101.3 ESPN “AJ & Rich,” 55KRC “The Brian Thomas Morning Show,” 710 KNUS “The Deborah Flora Show,” 98.5 The Sports Hub “The Adam Jones Show” and “The Toucher and Rich Show,” America’s News Radio “The Rusty Humphries Show,” American Public Media “Marketplace,” “Amerikaanse Toestanden,” BBC World Service “Newsday” and “World Business Report,” CBC Radio One “The Current,” CRN Radio “The George Jarkesy Show,” IRN/USA News “Chuck Morse Speaks,” “The Jim Engster Show,” KCRW “Left, Right & Center,” KJZZ “The Show,” KKFT and KRNG “America Matters with Steve Ause,” KNRS “The Rod Arquette Show,” KSEV and KVCE “The Voice of Texas,” KTTH “The David Boze Show,” “Macro Musings with David Beckworth,” Main Street Radio “The Alan Nathan Show,” KXL, “The Lars Larson Show,” MBC Broadcasting “Bill Martinez Live,” Newstalk 97.1 “The Randy Tobler Show,” NPO Radio 1 “Dit is de Nacht” en “Met het oog op morgen,” “Political Economy with James Pethokoukis,” PowNed “Echte Jannen,” Radio Ciudad 1110 AM “Corresponsales en Línea,” Radio Free Europe, Relevant Radio “The Drew Mariani Show,” “The Roger Hedgecock Show,” Salem “Evening News,” “Market Wrap with Moe Ansari,” and “The Steve Deace Show,” Sirius XM “POTUS On-Call,” “The Michael Smerconish Program,” and “The Steele and Ungar Show,” Swedish National Radio, Voice of Russia, WATR “Talk of the Town,” WBZ Newsradio 1030, WCBM “Sean and Frank,” WCGO “The Federalist Radio Hour,” WCPN “The Power of Ideas,” WEEI “Dale & Holley,” Westwood One “The Jim Bohannon Show,” WFTL “The Joyce Kaufman Show,” WHCR “Let Your Voice Be Heard,” WJR “The Frank Beckmann Show,” World News Radio “The World and Everything In It,” WOSU “All Sides with Ann Fisher,” WRAL “Financial Myth Busting with Dawn Bennett,” WRVA “The Jimmy Barrett Show.” WSPD

“The Scott Sands Show,” WWL “Newell Normand,” “Tommy Tucker, WWL First News,” and “The Think Tank,” WYPR “Midday with Dan Rodricks.”

Media Coverage

ABC News, AFP, Akron Beacon Journal, Al Jazeera, Albuquerque Journal, Amarillo Globe-News, American Conservative, AP, Asheville Citizen-Times, Austin American-Statesman, Baltimore Sun, BBC, Billings Gazette, Black Mountain News, The Blaze, Bleacher Report, Bloomberg, Børsen, Boston Globe, Boston Herald, Business Insider, Cannabis Wire, Capital Journal, CBS Boston, CBS Sports, CelebrityBalla, Chicago Tribune, Chosun Ilbo, Christian Broadcasting Network, Christian Science Monitor, CNBC, CNN, Columbia Daily Tribune, Columbus Dispatch, Comcast Sportsnet, Commentary, Courier-Journal, CQ Researcher, Dagelijkse Standaard, Daily Herald, Daily Mail, Daily Signal, Dallas News, Denver Post, Detroit Free Press, Drudge Report, Economics21, The Economist, Effingham Daily News, El Mundo, El País, Erie Times-News, ESPN, Everett Herald, Fayetteville Observer, Financial Times, Het Financieele Dagblad, Fiscal Times, FiveThirtyEight, Forbes, Foreign Affairs, Fortune, Fox Business, Fox News, Fox Sports, Globe and Mail, O Globo, Great Falls Tribune, Haaretz, Handelsblatt, Hartford Courant, Huffington Post, Hugh Hewitt Show, Human Events, Inc., Indianapolis Star, InsideSources, InstaPundit, Investor’s Business Daily, Jacobin Magazine, Jawa Pos, Kansas City Star, La Voix du Nord, Las Vegas Review-Journal, MacLean’s, Malaysia Sun, Marginal Revolution, Marketplace, MinnPost, Mother Jones, MSN, National Affairs, National Interest, National Journal, National Review, NBC News, NBC Sport, NESN, New Hampshire Union Leader, New Orleans Times-Picayune, New Republic, New York Daily News, New York Post, New York Times, News & Observer, Newsmax, Newsweek, Nord Éclair, NPR, Oakland Press, Orlando Sentinel, Ouest-France, Palm Beach Post, PBS, Philadelphia Inquirer, Politico, Portland Press Herald, PowerLineBlog, Pulso, Quartz, RealClearPolicy, RealClearPolitics, RealClearSports, RealClearWorld, Reason, Reuters, Ricochet, Roll Call, Sabah, Salon, San Diego Union-Tribune, San José Mercury News, San Juan Daily Star, Seattle Times, Springfield News-Sun, Stamford Advocate, Saudi Gazette, Sierra Vista Herald, Slate, Star Tribune, State Tax Notes, The Street, Sun-Sentinel, Sydney Morning Herald, Talking Points Memo, Tampa Bay Times, Tax Notes, La Tercera, Time, Toronto Sun, TownHall, Troy Record, Tyler Morning Telegraph, U.S. News & World Report, USA Today, Vice, Visão, Volkskrant, Vox, VoxEU, Wall Street Journal, Washington Examiner, Washington Post, Washington Times, Weekly Standard, Wisconsin Gazette, Worcester Telegram & Gazette, World Net Daily, Yahoo News, Yahoo Sports, Yomiuri Shimbun, Die Zeit, etc.

Select Ad Hominem Attacks on Colleagues

“[I just snuck into my colleague Mike Strain’s office](#),” *AEIdeas*, February 19, 2015.

“[Canto by Ó Cearnaigh](#),” *AEIdeas*, September 8, 2014.

“[Cantos on the Fiscal Cliff](#),” *AEIdeas*, January 22, 2013.

Languages

Fluent	Dutch, English, Spanish
Reading	Catalan, French, Galician, German, Latin, Portuguese

Recent Professional Service and Miscellanea

2024-Present	Chair of the Chapter Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2024-Present	Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Working Group on Community Partnership Visas
2024-Present	Secretary, Westminster Neighborhood Association
2023-Present	Member of the Executive Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2023-Present	Director, Netherland-America Foundation

2023-Present Affiliate, Center on Opportunity and Social Mobility at the American Enterprise Institute
2021-Present Affiliate, Center for American Political Studies at Harvard University
2020-Present Content Advisor, Greater Greater Washington
2016-Present Member of the Ambassadors' Awards Dinner Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2016-Present Consultant, expertpowerhouse
2015-Present Editor, *AEI Economic Perspectives*
2015-Present Chair of the Washington, D.C. Chapter, Netherland-America Foundation
2021-2024 Chair of the Advisory Committee, Netherland-America Foundation
2023 Member of the Program Committee, Annual Congress of the European Economic Association
2022-2023 Member of the Jury, AI for Global Climate Cooperation
2019-2023 Member of the Zoning, Planning, and Parks Committee, Washington, D.C. Advisory Neighborhood Commission 1A
Fall 2020 Certificate of Teaching Excellence, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University
2019 Member of the Program Committee, APPAM International Conference
2017 Member of the Program Committee, National Tax Association Annual Conference on Taxation

External Reviewer for AI for Global Climate Cooperation, Center for Global Development, Center for Growth and Opportunity at Utah State University, Laura and John Arnold Foundation, Mercatus Center at George Mason University, National Science Foundation, and Smith Richardson Foundation

Referee for *Acta Oeconomica*, *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *American Journal of Health Economics*, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *Applied Economics*, *Asian Economic Journal*, *Athens Journal of Social Sciences*, *Cogent Economics and Finance*, *Cogent Social Sciences*, *Contemporary Economic Policy*, *Economics of Education Review*, *Environmental and Resource Economics*, *European Economic Review*, *European Journal of Political Economy*, *Inquiry: The Journal of Health Care Organization, Provision, and Financing*, *International Journal of Economic Sciences and Applied Research*, *International Review of Economics and Finance*, *International Tax and Public Finance*, *Journal of Health Economics*, *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management*, *Journal of Public Economics*, *Journal of Regional Science*, *Journal of Sports Analytics*, *Journal of Urban Economics*, *Management Science*, *National Tax Journal*, *Oxford Economic Papers*, *Party Politics*, *Public Choice*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *Revista de Métodos Cuantitativos para la Economía y la Empresa*, *Social Forces*, *Social Science Journal*, *Social Science & Medicine* and *SSM – Population Health*

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
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AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF MARIELA
GONZALEZ HERRERA IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

1 Additional Counsel for Plaintiffs

2 Jessica Karp Bansal (SBN 277347)
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3 Lauren Wilfong (*Pro Hac Vice Application Pending*)
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1 **DECLARATION OF CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ HERRERA**

2 I, Cecilia Daniela González Herrera, declare:

3 1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called
4 upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

5 2. I have lived in the United States since 2017. I was 18 years old when I
6 arrived with my family. I am now almost 26 years old, and I have lived my entire adult life
7 in the United States. I first applied for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 2021. I rely on
8 TPS for protection from deportation and lawful status in the United States while my
9 family's asylum application remains pending, as it has been for nearly eight years.

10 3. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm I have suffered since
11 the announcement of the termination of the extension TPS for Venezuela and the harm my
12 family and I would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

13 **Background**

14 4. I grew up in Barinas, Venezuela with my mother, father and brother. After I
15 graduated, I went to Caracas to study journalism. I joined the student movement against
16 the Maduro regime. My mom told me not to join because she was afraid of what could
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18 too horrific to ignore.

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20 documenting and posting about the student protests. Over time, the government became
21 increasingly violent and aggressive towards the protesters. I remember one protest where
22 we were surrounded by paramilitary forces on motorcycles pointing guns at the protestors.
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24 me from going to the protest, but she saw me on the news and got really mad at me. That
25 year, I went home for spring break, and my parents told me that we had to leave
26 Venezuela. My parents were also facing threats and harassment due to their political
27 opinions and my father's legal work.

28 6. We came to the United States in July 2017, and settled in Central Florida,

1 where my parents had some friends. My father applied for asylum, and I was included in
2 his application as a derivative. However, almost eight years later, that application remains
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4 7. At first, I felt directionless in the United States, but that changed in 2018,
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7 founder, William Diaz, who became a mentor of mine. I started becoming involved
8 politically and with the Venezuelan community in Florida. I also became involved in the
9 advocacy effort to get Venezuela designated for TPS.

10 8. In 2021, I helped found the Venezuelan American Caucus, which is a
11 grassroots organization dedicated to advocating for policies that address the needs of
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13 U.S. immigration system, and because there was a need for protection from removal to
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15 crisis. Millions of Venezuelans have left the country due to political persecution, a collapse
16 of basic services, food insecurity, and rampant violence. We understood that TPS does not
17 provide permanent solutions, but there were no other options for the many thousands of
18 Venezuelans who had fled the economic and political breakdown in Venezuela, and TPS
19 was an essential, immediate solution.

20 9. In addition to this advocacy, I also attend university and work. I am currently
21 the voting rights advocacy coordinator at a national civil rights organization, working hard
22 to ensure that every eligible voter has fair access to the ballot box.

23 **Impact of TPS**

24 10. TPS has given me stability and an opportunity to pursue my education. I am
25 studying at the University of Central Florida, with a major in political science and a minor
26 in Latin American studies. TPS allowed me to get my education, as I would be unable to
27 afford to go to university paying out-of-state tuition, and I am allowed to pay in-state
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1 been prohibitively expensive for me. I was also eligible for scholarships that are open to
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3 which would impact my work, my career, and my future.

4 11. When I was granted TPS, it gave me a sense of comfort and relief. While I
5 knew that my family has an asylum application pending, I always knew that the outcome
6 of that application was uncertain. TPS also gave me a sense of belonging; I felt I had found
7 a home within the Venezuelan TPS community and could breathe better because I knew
8 that I was protected from deportation. It gave me a chance to plan for the future in a way I
9 never could before I had TPS.

10 **Impact of the Decision to Vacate TPS Extension**

11 12. When I heard that the January TPS extension was revoked, I was in disbelief.
12 I cried a lot during the three days between the announcement and when the decision was
13 published. I cried for myself, for my family, and for the many friends that I have that rely
14 on TPS for their survival. It was the first time that I had to really confront the possibility
15 that I would lose status in the United States and face deportation. It was like having the
16 ground disappear beneath my feet.

17 13. Earlier this month, I went to visit my friend, who is a permanent resident, to
18 watch the Grammy's with him and his mother. His mother has TPS from the 2023
19 designation, and so is expected to lose her legal status on April 7. While I was there, she
20 was packing and giving away clothes because she thinks she will have to leave the country
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23 affected my schoolwork, because I started thinking, "what's the point?" What is the point
24 of studying if I am not going to be able to finish my degree?

25 15. I have canceled my plans of looking into graduate school programs, and
26 potentially applying to a masters degree program due to the uncertainty that comes with
27 this administration's decision to terminate TPS for Venezuela.

28 16. It is exhausting to live with such uncertainty. My brain is constantly worried

1 about my future, and at the same time, I am also on edge in my day to day activities. For
2 example, I now get very nervous while driving, terrified that I might be racially profiled,
3 pulled over, and turned over to ICE by local law enforcement. For the first time in eight
4 years, I am afraid to speak Spanish in public. I am so proud of my heritage and my
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28 with José Palma, Co-Coordinator of the NTPSA, about defending TPS for Venezuela, and

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2 21. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and
3 that this declaration was executed at Pasadena, California this 19th day of February, 2025.

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**DECLARATION OF KATHERINE
GREENSLADE IN SUPPORT OF
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DECLARATION OF KATHERINE GREENSLADE

I, Katherine Greenslade, make this declaration based on my own personal knowledge. If called to testify, I could and would do so as follows:

1. I am an attorney licensed with the Illinois state bar. I serve as the Director of The Resurrection Project ("TRP"), Immigrant Justice Legal Clinic in Chicago, Illinois. TRP has had a legal clinic for about 10 years (since 2014) that helps immigrants handle a wide variety of legal issues. I have led the legal clinic since joining TRP in 2018. TRP is connected to a large network of organizations throughout Illinois to increase access to justice.

2. Since approximately 2022, we have been serving significant numbers of Venezuelan immigrants, most of whom qualified for Temporary Protected Status (TPS). Around August 2022, buses carrying immigrants, mostly from Venezuela and Haiti, began arriving to Chicago from the southern border.

3. In response to this large number of recent arrivals, TRP developed large-scale workshops with city and state agencies to support applications for TPS and employment authorization (EADs). Legal representatives met with participants to determine eligibility for TPS or a parole-based EAD. Following pilot workshops in October 2023, TRP started offering large-scale workshops in Chicago in November 2023. These workshops have continued in various iterations since that time to assist TPS holders, including with EADs. Thousands of individuals seeking TPS at our workshops have been Venezuelan. From September 1, 2023 through February 18, 2025, 10,730 Venezuelans have attended these workshops. Almost a third of the Venezuelans at the workshops (3,072) have been children.

4. The first workshops served all eligible new arrivals who were living in a city-operated shelter and who qualified for work authorization. Conducting these workshops gave me an understanding of the particular challenges facing the population of Venezuelans who felt compelled to migrate to the United States over the last few years. The immigrants we served were low-income, arriving with few possessions and little to no money.

5. Because of time and resource constraints, TRP generally has been unable to conduct full screenings of individuals who participate in these workshops to determine whether, in addition

1 to TPS, they might be eligible for other types of immigration relief, such as asylum. Based on my
2 experience and observations at these workshops, the vast majority of persons who seek assistance
3 from TRP do not have access to private legal counsel to determine what other types of immigration
4 relief, aside from TPS, may be available to them that would allow them to remain in the U.S.

5 6. If TPS designation for Venezuela is terminated, then TPS holders will lose
6 protection from removal and the legal right to work in the U.S. that TPS provides. TPS holders like
7 the ones served in our workshops also may be subject to expedited removal if they have been in the
8 United States for less than two years and fail to convince an immigration officer that they have a
9 credible fear of persecution or torture if returned to Venezuela.

10 7. Since late 2022, as Chicago continued to receive buses of immigrants from the US
11 Southern border, I have conducted screenings for asylum eligibility for many Venezuelans. Based on
12 my experience and observations, TPS holders from Venezuela have fled for a wide variety of
13 compelling reasons relating to health and safety. Some have valid asylum claims, but many of the
14 people I spoke to described hardships and deprivations in Venezuela that created conditions of
15 desperation and grinding poverty, but which may not meet the narrow specific legal criteria for
16 asylum, leaving TPS as the only safety valve for them to avoid being forced to return to a country
17 where they genuinely fear imminent harm.

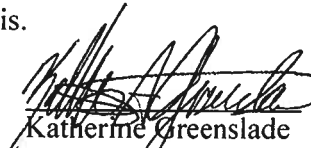
18 8. The people we served in TRP workshops and clinics represented a broad cross section
19 of Venezuelan society. They have included individuals and families of all ages—infants, teenagers,
20 adults, and the elderly. Many had no choice but to walk from Venezuela with infants and toddlers in
21 tow—arduous and risky journeys that no parent would undertake unless they fervently believed that
22 desperate circumstances had left them with no other choice but to flee Venezuela. As a parent of
23 young children, it is difficult to imagine just how bad conditions in Venezuela must be for
24 individuals from all walks of life to come to the conclusion that the risks of hunger, thieves, and the
25 unknown along a 2,900+ mile route are preferable to remaining in Venezuela.

26 9. Once in the United States, their economic circumstances did not immediately
27 improve. Without work authorization, the Venezuelan immigrants I served in Chicago struggled to
28

1 survive. Many arrived during Chicago's harsh winter months lacking proper clothing and footwear,
2 some arriving to our workshops wearing flip flops.

3 I declare under penalty of perjury of the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true
4 and correct.

5 Executed on February 19, 2025, in Chicago, Illinois.

6 
7 Katherine Greenslade
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF LAURA GUERRERO
IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION
TO POSTPONE EFFECTIVE DATE OF
AGENCY ACTION**

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1 **DECLARATION OF LAURA GUERRERO**

2 I, Laura Guerrero, declare:

3 1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called
4 upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

5 2. I have lived in the United States since 2016, and I first applied for
6 Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in 2021. My husband and daughters (aged 18 and 10),
7 are also TPS beneficiaries. As a result of the decision by Secretary of Homeland Security
8 Kristi Noem to vacate the prior DHS extension of TPS for Venezuela, TPS for myself, my
9 husband, and our two daughters is now expected to expire in September 2025.

10 3. I am a member of the National TPS Alliance, and joined voluntarily because
11 I believe in the mission of the organization.

12 4. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm my family and I have
13 suffered since the announcement of the vacatur of the extension of TPS for Venezuela, and
14 the harm we would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

15 **Background**

16 5. I am from Venezuela, and I have been in the United States since 2016, when
17 I arrived with my family on a tourist visa. I am trained as an intellectual property lawyer in
18 Venezuela, and worked for over 12 years with the state-owned oil company. Because of
19 my opposition to the government while employed by the government, I was kidnapped.
20 Soon after, my family and I left the country.

21 6. One month after arriving in the United States, I applied for asylum
22 affirmatively. Between 2016 until I was granted TPS in 2021, I only had a pending asylum
23 application but no immigration status. For the nine years that my asylum application has
24 been pending, there has been no action on it. I have not even had an interview.

25 7. My husband and daughters, C. and E., are derivatives on my asylum
26 application. My husband works as a sales representative for a wine distribution company.

27 8. C. arrived in the United States when she was only about nine years old. Now
28 C. is a vocal jazz singer in her first year of college at Berklee College of Music, in Boston,

1 Massachusetts, which she attends on a full scholarship.

2 9. Our younger daughter E. is ten years old, and in the fifth grade. She arrived
3 in the United States when she was only two years old; this is the only country that she has
4 ever known. She loves to dance, and recently was accepted to a selective middle and high
5 school for the arts for which she had to audition. I am not sure how both of my daughters
6 are artists; they have such natural skills in that arena that my husband and I lack. I only
7 hope that we will continue to be able to support them to achieve their dreams.

8 10. I work remotely for the University of Pittsburgh as an intellectual property
9 assistant.

10 11. My husband and I bought a house together for our family in 2020. We live
11 there with our younger daughter, E., now that my older daughter has moved to Boston to
12 pursue higher education.

13 12. All of my immediate family is in in the United States and with permanent
14 status. My brother, a transplant surgeon, won the diversity visa lottery and has lived in the
15 United States since 2013, with his two daughters, aged 22 and 24. My sister was resettled
16 here as a refugee in 2022, and now lives in Houston with her husband. My mother is also
17 here with a green card, after my brother petitioned for her adjustment, and they live
18 together in Orlando, Florida.

19 **Impact of Temporary Protected Status**

20 13. My husband, 18-year-old daughter C., 10-year-old daughter E., and I are
21 TPS recipients, having registered under the 2021 Venezuela designation.

22 14. Before I had TPS, when I only had my pending asylum claim, I was always
23 fearful that my asylum application would be denied and I would be immediately at risk of
24 deportation. This lack of status was also challenging for me in other ways. For example, I
25 was deprived of the chance to apply for government jobs – for instance clerical jobs with
26 the court – when I only had a pending asylum claim, because my pending asylum
27 application was not considered a legal status. Once I got TPS, that changed. In my current
28 job, I had to produce my TPS documentation in order to be able to access and maintain my

1 employment.

2 15. My daughter C. was able to get financial aid—a full scholarship—to college
3 only as a result of her TPS. She would not have been able to get financial aid, and we
4 would not have been able to afford her studies, without her TPS. She would not have been
5 eligible for financial aid with only a pending asylum application. I don't think that C.
6 really understood the significance of her vulnerable immigration status until she was
7 applying for college, when she was asked many times—in college applications and
8 through the financial aid process—to show proof of her legal status, and she had to reckon
9 with what this meant.

10 **Impact of the Decision to Terminate TPS**

11 16. I know that the writing is on the wall for those protected by the 2021
12 Venezuela designation, like me and my family. I expect that DHS will make the same
13 decision for us that was made for those protected by the 2023 designation, and that we will
14 lose our status in September of this year.

15 17. I don't know what I would do if TPS were terminated. I cannot safely return
16 to Venezuela. I have no family there anymore; all of my family is here. I truly cannot
17 imagine what I would do.

18 18. I started to become very stressed and anxious about my legal status in around
19 August 2024 because of how President Trump, when he was a candidate, was talking about
20 what he was going to do with regard to immigration and TPS. And then after all the
21 executive orders of the earliest days of the Trump administration, and the vacatur of the
22 January extension of TPS for Venezuela, and then the ultimate termination of the 2023
23 Venezuela TPS designation, I became terrified. Since then my husband and I have been
24 talking, and crying, about it every day. I have tremendous anxiety, and have even felt panic
25 attacks. Every day, and every story that I hear, seems worse than the last.

26 19. I have also become terrified for my daughter's safety in Boston, where she is
27 studying and lives by herself, because of the anti-immigrant sentiment that seems to be
28 everywhere now. I am worried about her all the time. I have told her not to speak Spanish

1 in the street; I cannot believe that I felt that I had to tell her that. It causes me tremendous
2 pain that I have so much anxiety, and that I am transmitting it to her; and that I am telling
3 her she should have to hide a part of her identity. I have also told her that she needs to
4 bring her immigration papers with her all the time as I am fearful that she will be stopped
5 on the street by an ICE agent.

6 20. I didn't feel such fear and anxiety until TPS was terminated for Venezuelans.
7 Now I feel like I am at risk of being without a status again very soon. While I still have the
8 asylum application, I know from experience that people do not treat a pending asylum
9 application as a form of immigration status. I also never know if or when my asylum
10 application could be denied.

11 21. I am afraid that I will lose my job if I lose my TPS. My boss has also been
12 asking me whether there is somewhere else I would move to. I can't believe that I am even
13 thinking about that question—nearly a decade after living in the United States and with my
14 asylum application long pending. *This* was supposed to be my safe place.

15 22. Losing TPS would also be catastrophic for my daughter. She would be
16 unable to access scholarships and financial aid with only a pending asylum claim. With
17 TPS, however, she benefits from a full scholarship to Berklee. Without it, we would not be
18 able to afford her education. This would jeopardize not only her education, but also her
19 career. She has a tremendous opportunity, enrolled at one of the top music schools in the
20 country, and it pains me tremendously to think that is at risk.

21 23. My younger daughter E. doesn't really understand about TPS and our
22 vulnerable immigration status. In January, around the time of President Trump's
23 inauguration and the termination of TPS for Venezuela, she was subject to bullying and
24 abuse at school as a migrant. Around the same time, some of her friends were trying to
25 reassure her and told her she would be fine because she only needed a green card to stay.
26 She came home crying, knowing that she did not have a green card. I know she is also
27 really affected by the stress that my husband and I are under since the announcement of the
28 end of TPS for Venezuela.

24. In addition to all of this, I believe we would lose our house if the TPS termination goes in to effect, as we could not afford to pay the mortgage on our home without our valid work authorization.

25. We have many family and friends who have TPS, and have been very negatively affected by the decision of DHS Secretary Noem to terminate it. My nieces' boyfriends and their family members have TPS, for example, as do so many other friends of ours.

26. I feel I am living the trauma and fear that I lived in Venezuela all over again. I can't believe that now Venezuelans are being made a target. The highest ranking government officials are saying on national television and social media that Venezuelans are criminals and associated with the Tren de Aragua gang, even though of course we have nothing to do with that gang. I am constantly shocked by these statements. I can't understand why high-level government officials could not distinguish between the hundreds of thousands of law-abiding Venezuelans who are living in the United States because they fled a country in crisis, and the small numbers of people who are part of this gang. I know that there are individual Americans who commit heinous crimes, but I would never think of categorizing all Americans as responsible for the actions of a few. I also see that they have been targeting TPS as a program, which is painful, as it is a program that so many of us depend on when we cannot return to our countries.

20 27. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and
21 that this declaration was executed in Orlando, Florida this 17th day of February, 2025.

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24

Laura Guerrero
Laura Guerrero

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA VIVAS
CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF M.H. IN
SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF'
MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

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DECLARATION OF M.H.

I, M.H., declare:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

2. I am a beneficiary of Temporary Protected Status (TPS). My current TPS status will expire on April 7, 2025 as a result of the termination of TPS for Venezuela. My seven year old daughter also has TPS, set to expire on the same date. My husband and our two-year-old son are U.S. citizens.

3. I am writing this declaration to explain the harm that my family and I will suffer if the extension of TPS for Venezuela is revoked.

Background

4. I am from Ojeda, a small city in Venezuela. Growing up, I lived with my parents and my brother and sister. My father is a trucker and my mother was a homemaker. I studied nursing and got my degree in 2016. I specialized in hemodialysis. In 2017, my daughter, I.U., was born.

5. From the time that I was in university, I was part of the student movement opposing the Maduro regime. I joined the Voluntad Popular, an opposition party. I participated in health clinics providing services to vulnerable communities and served as an election worker. I was harmed and threatened because of this, and around 2020 I learned that there was an arrest warrant against me. I decided that I had to leave.

6. In January 2021, I left Venezuela with my three-year-old daughter. My daughter and I were detained by immigration officials for two days in Texas soon after we arrived. After I was released, we went to live in Pennsylvania to live with D.B., who was my friend and later became my husband. Since that time, we have lived together and built a life together. D.B. and I got married in June 2021. He is a U.S. citizen. Together we welcomed our son, J.B., in April of 2022.

7. I am currently working as a full-time caregiver for my two children. In addition to caring for my own children, I sometimes care for my friends' children in my

1 home. I also volunteer at a local health clinic for Spanish-speakers. I am responsible for all
2 of the childcare and household duties, which requires me to drive around our city every
3 day. I have a driver's license, which I was able to get when I showed proof of my work
4 authorization. My husband works full-time as an engineer for a government sub-
5 contractor. He leaves the house around 7 am and gets home around 6 pm.

6 8. My daughter is now seven years old and she is in first grade. She is doing
7 very well in school. I was amazed at how fast she learned English. Now, I have to correct
8 her Spanish! My son, J.B., is almost three years old. He is a U.S. citizen. He is a happy
9 child, but he has some health problems. He has severe asthma that requires constant
10 monitoring and treatment. I give him a prescription inhaler every day. When he gets sick, I
11 give him additional medications because colds can aggravate his asthma. Even with this
12 routine care, every few months J.B. has a severe asthma attack. I have to watch him closely
13 so I can catch the attacks as soon as they start. When that happens, we use a nebulizer to
14 manage the asthma attack as best as we can. Sometimes it isn't enough and we have to
15 rush him to the hospital. In the last year, we have had to take him to the hospital about
16 three times because he still wasn't getting enough oxygen with the nebulizer. He attends
17 regular check-ups with a pulmonologist about every three months. It is scary to see your
18 child suffer, but I am grateful that we are able to provide J.B. with the care he needs.

19 9. Apart from my husband and children, I have several family members in the
20 United States. My mother, brother, and nephews live in Florida. My mom has TPS and my
21 brother and his children are seeking asylum.

22 10. My sister, her children, and my father still live in Venezuela. They tell me
23 that there are shortages of basic necessities, sometimes even water is scarce. Every day
24 there are power cuts. They depend on money from me and from my family here in the
25 United States.

26 11. TPS is currently my only form of protection from deportation.

27 12. I have tried to file an asylum application affirmatively on two occasions, but
28 both times my asylum application was rejected by USCIS. I have found it very hard to get

1 an asylum application on file despite my efforts.

2 13. First, I filed an asylum application with USCIS soon after I arrived in the
3 United States. However, my application was rejected shortly after I filed it because I had
4 already been placed in removal proceedings, though I didn't know that at the time.

5 14. My daughter and I applied for TPS after Venezuela was re-designated in
6 2023. My work permit is under the TPS category. At my last court hearing in October
7 2024, my case was terminated because I had obtained TPS status.

8 15. I tried to re-file my asylum application with USCIS after my court case was
9 closed. But USCIS rejected my application again. This time, USCIS rejected the
10 application saying that there was already an application pending. This was confusing to me
11 as my previous application had been rejected, and I never filed an application for asylum in
12 connection with my court proceedings. But I applied for an employment authorization
13 document as an asylum applicant, given that USCIS had asserted that I had an application
14 pending. However, USCIS denied my application for a work permit—this time because
15 they said that I did *not* have an asylum application pending.

16 16. I am working with a lawyer to file an asylum application. But as it is not
17 clear the status of any asylum application, and because I only have legal status and work
18 authorization from TPS, I am all the more reliant on TPS. My work authorization and TPS
19 are set to expire in April 2025, at which time I will be without any valid immigration
20 status, work authorization, or protection from deportation.

21 17. As part of the obligations associated with my release from immigration
22 custody and my removal proceedings, I am required to check in in-person with ICE every
23 six months. I have gone to every check-in. Each time I go, I feel extremely nervous that
24 they will decide to detain or deport me. My last check-in was in September 2024. My
25 husband came with me that day. We hoped that they would agree to discontinue the check-
26 ins because I have TPS. We brought all my paperwork and showed it to the officer, who
27 said that it didn't matter if I had TPS. My husband asked why it was necessary for me to
28 keep checking in, since I have TPS. The officer said gruffly, "because it's temporary." He

1 then scheduled my next check-in for May 2025, the month after my TPS is set to expire
2 because of the recently-announced termination of TPS for Venezuela. Now, I am terrified
3 that TPS will be terminated and that I will be detained that day or even deported.
4 Although I am married to a U.S. citizen, I do not have a straightforward path to permanent
5 residence. My immigration attorney told me that I would need a special waiver to qualify
6 for a green card. We are currently preparing documents to file an I-130 petition, which is
7 the first step to adjustment of status through marriage, but I understand that the process can
8 take years to complete. Until that time, I am reliant solely on TPS for protection from
9 deportation.

10 **Impact of the Decision to Terminate TPS**

11 18. If TPS is terminated, my family and I will suffer tremendous harm. One of
12 the most immediate harms that will befall us if TPS is terminated is that I will no longer be
13 able to drive legally in Tennessee. I had to show my work authorization in order to qualify
14 for a license, and my driver's license expires the same day as my work permit, in April. I
15 rely on my driver's license to safely drive my daughter to school and to bring my son to his
16 many doctor's appointments. If TPS is terminated, I would have to choose between driving
17 illegally without a license, or pulling my daughter out of school and disrupting my son's
18 medical care. This feels like an impossible choice. I cannot stop my children's education
19 and care, but I am terrified at the thought of driving without a license because local law
20 enforcement would turn me over to ICE if they discovered that I did not have legal status.

21 19. If TPS is terminated, I do not know what we will do. My children rely on
22 me, and could not be separated from me. I am their primary caregiver. My husband has to
23 work to support our family, so he cannot care for our children full-time without me. The
24 mere thought of being separated from my children fills me with fear and sadness. At the
25 same time, I am terrified of living in the United States without lawful status.

26 20. I also fear I am likely to be arrested at my check-in in May if TPS is
27 terminated. My arrest would be traumatic for my children, who are too young to
28 understand my complicated immigration situation. The prospect of this is causing me a lot

1 of stress. I start to shake just thinking about it. I know that I have to go, but I am so afraid
2 of what will happen to me and my family.

3 21. We cannot relocate our family to Venezuela. I cannot return to Venezuela
4 with my children because of my past experiences. We would not be safe there. We would
5 be forced to live in hiding, and would have nowhere to go. I also don't know how I could
6 support myself and my children. My husband cannot abandon his job and move to
7 Venezuela because we rely on his income for our survival. Most people in Venezuela live
8 in poverty, and I am certain that we would face hunger, and a lack of housing, healthcare,
9 and basic necessities.

10 22. I would also never be able to bring my son to Venezuela, because he would
11 be deprived of the medical treatment he needs. I would be afraid for his life. The hospitals
12 in Venezuela are almost non-operational. Private clinics are extremely expensive. The lack
13 of electricity would put his life in danger if he had an asthma attack and there was no
14 electricity to power the nebulizer.

15 23. It also would be impossible for me and my daughter to return to Venezuela
16 and leave my son and husband in the United States. Our son requires constant care and
17 medical attention. If my husband were left to care for our son alone, he would have to
18 leave his job. However, his job provides our health insurance, which we rely upon to
19 afford our son's care. It is truly an impossible situation for our family. I wonder whether
20 my husband and son would have to rely on public assistance to survive. And if my
21 husband were not working, he could not support me and my daughter in Venezuela, so our
22 situation there would become even more desperate.

23 24. My Venezuelan passport is expired, and there is no way to renew it because
24 of the lack of diplomatic relations, so even if I were to try to travel back to Venezuela (or
25 anywhere else), I believe that I would be unable to do so.

26 **Need for Anonymity**

27 25. I am fearful that my participation in this lawsuit will put my family and me
28 at risk of retaliation from the local or federal government. My family depends on my

1 husband's work as a government subcontractor, and I worry that, if our names are publicly
2 associated with this lawsuit against the government, that he could face negative
3 consequences at work, or even lose his job. We keep hearing news about the government
4 trying to fire people to cut costs, so I am afraid that exposing my husband in any way
5 could jeopardize his career and our family's livelihood.

6 26. I am also worried that participating in this lawsuit could bring us to the
7 attention of local law enforcement, especially if TPS expires and I am left without status.
8 The political climate in Tennessee is very anti-immigrant. Recently, the legislature passed
9 a bill creating a new division in the Department of Safety specifically to increase
10 cooperation between local law enforcement and immigration enforcement agencies. I am
11 afraid that, if my name is public because I am part of this lawsuit, I will be targeted by
12 local law enforcement and turned over to immigration officials.

13 27. Above all, I am worried about my safety and that of my children.
14 Unfortunately, we live in an area with a lot of racism and extreme anti-immigrant
15 sentiment. I do not tell anyone about my immigration status because I don't want to make
16 anyone uncomfortable and because I don't know who I can trust. I feel nervous every time
17 I leave the house. I feel scared and the uncertainty is weighing on me. I try not to speak
18 Spanish in public because I am afraid that my children and I will be mistreated or reported
19 to ICE.

20 28. The superintendant of my daughter's school district recently said that they
21 would comply with any laws that are passed regarding immigration, such as the recent
22 order allowing ICE to enter schools. The Governor of Tennessee just signed a law stating
23 that no charter school funds can be used for undocumented students, and there is an effort
24 to pass a law to ban undocumented children from public schools as well.

25 29. It is painful to raise my daughter and son in this environment. My daughter
26 asks me if she is American. I have to explain to her that she is Venezuelan, but she doesn't
27 remember Venezuela at all because she was only three when we left. She doesn't
28 understand that we do not have permanent status, and I am always afraid that she will face

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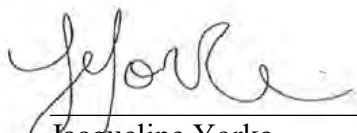
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TRANSPERFECT


City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

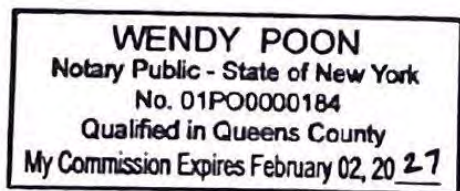
I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF M.H.**” is,
to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into
Spanish (LA).



Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025



Signature, Notary Public

Stamp, Notary Public

DECLARACIÓN DE M.H.

Yo, M.H., declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración. Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Soy beneficiaria del Estatus de Protección Temporal (Temporary Protected Status, TPS). Mi actual estatus de TPS expirará el 7 de abril de 2025 como resultado de la terminación del TPS para Venezuela. Mi hija de siete años también tiene TPS, que expirará en la misma fecha. Mi esposo y nuestro hijo de dos años son ciudadanos estadounidenses.

3. Escribo esta declaración para explicar el daño que mi familia y yo sufriremos si se revoca la extensión del TPS para Venezuela.

Antecedentes

4. Soy de Ojeda, una pequeña ciudad de Venezuela. De pequeña, vivía con mis padres, mi hermano y mi hermana. Mi padre es camionero y mi madre ama de casa. Estudié enfermería y me gradué en 2016. Me especialicé en hemodiálisis. En 2017, nació mi hija, I.U.

5. Desde que estaba en la universidad, formé parte del movimiento estudiantil que se oponía al régimen de Maduro. Me uní a Voluntad Popular, un partido de la oposición. Participé en clínicas de salud que prestaban servicios a comunidades vulnerables y trabajé como funcionaria electoral. Por ello, fui agredida y amenazada, y alrededor de 2020 me enteré de que había una orden de arresto contra mí. Decidí que tenía que irme.

6. En enero de 2021, me fui de Venezuela con mi hija de tres años. Poco después de llegar, mi hija y yo fuimos detenidas por funcionarios de inmigración durante dos días en Texas. Después de que me liberaron, nos fuimos a vivir a Pensilvania con D.B., que era mi amigo y luego se convirtió en mi marido. Desde entonces, hemos vivido juntos y hemos construido una vida juntos. D.B. y yo nos casamos en junio de 2021. Él es ciudadano estadounidense. Juntos dimos la bienvenida a nuestro hijo, J.B., en abril de 2022.

ER0533

1 7. Actualmente trabajo como cuidadora a tiempo completo de mis dos hijos.
2 Además de cuidar de mis propios hijos, a veces cuido de los hijos de mis amigos en mi
3 casa. También soy voluntaria en una clínica de salud local para hispanohablantes. Soy
4 responsable de todas las tareas de cuidado de los niños y del hogar, lo que me obliga a
5 conducir por nuestra ciudad todos los días. Tengo carnet de conducir, que pude obtener
6 cuando presenté una prueba de mi autorización de trabajo. Mi marido trabaja a tiempo
7 completo como ingeniero para un subcontratista del gobierno. Él se va de la casa alrededor
8 de las 7 de la mañana y llega alrededor de las 6 de la tarde.

9 8. Mi hija tiene ahora siete años y está en primer grado. Le va muy bien en la
10 escuela. Me sorprendió lo rápido que aprendió inglés. ¡Ahora tengo que corregir su
11 español! Mi hijo, J.B., tiene casi tres años. Es ciudadano estadounidense. Es un niño feliz,
12 pero tiene algunos problemas de salud. Tiene asma grave que requiere un monitoreo y
13 tratamiento constantes. Le doy un inhalador recetado todos los días. Cuando se enferma, le
14 doy medicamentos adicionales porque los resfriados pueden agravar su asma. Incluso con
15 este cuidado de rutina, cada pocos meses J.B. tiene un ataque de asma grave. Tengo que
16 vigilarlo de cerca para poder detectar los ataques en cuanto comienzan. Cuando eso
17 sucede, utilizamos un nebulizador para controlar el ataque de asma lo mejor que podemos.
18 A veces no es suficiente y tenemos que llevarlo rápidamente al hospital. En el último año,
19 hemos tenido que llevarlo al hospital unas tres veces porque tampoco recibía suficiente
20 oxígeno con el nebulizador. Asiste a revisiones periódicas con un neumólogo cada tres
21 meses aproximadamente. Da miedo ver sufrir a tu hijo, pero estoy agradecida de que
22 podamos proporcionarle a J.B. la atención que necesita.

23 9. Aparte de mi marido y mis hijos, tengo varios familiares en Estados Unidos.
24 Mi madre, mi hermano y mis sobrinos viven en Florida. Mi madre tiene TPS y mi hermano
25 y sus hijos están solicitando asilo.

26 10. Mi hermana, sus hijos y mi padre siguen viviendo en Venezuela. Me dicen
27 que hay escasez de productos de primera necesidad, a veces incluso escasea el agua. Todos
28 los días hay cortes de electricidad. Dependen del dinero que les envío yo y mi familia aquí

1 en Estados Unidos.

2 11. El TPS es actualmente mi única forma de protección contra la deportación.

3 12. He intentado presentar una solicitud de asilo afirmativamente en dos
4 ocasiones, pero en ambas mi solicitud de asilo fue rechazada por el USCIS. Me ha
5 resultado muy difícil presentar una solicitud de asilo a pesar de mis esfuerzos.

6 13. En primer lugar, presenté una solicitud de asilo ante el USCIS poco después
7 de llegar a Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, mi solicitud fue rechazada poco después de
8 presentarla porque ya se me había iniciado un proceso de expulsión, aunque yo no lo sabía
9 en ese momento.

10 14. Mi hija y yo solicitamos el TPS después de que Venezuela fuera redesignada
11 en 2023. Mi permiso de trabajo está en la categoría TPS. En mi última audiencia judicial
12 en octubre de 2024, mi caso fue cerrado porque había obtenido el estatus TPS.

13 15. Intenté volver a presentar mi solicitud de asilo ante el USCIS después de que
14 se cerrara mi caso judicial. Pero el USCIS volvió a rechazar mi solicitud. Esta vez, el
15 USCIS rechazó la solicitud alegando que ya había una solicitud pendiente. Esto me
16 confundió, ya que mi solicitud anterior había sido rechazada y nunca presenté una solicitud
17 de asilo en relación con mis procedimientos judiciales. Pero solicité un documento de
18 autorización de empleo como solicitante de asilo, dado que el USCIS había afirmado que
19 tenía una solicitud pendiente. Sin embargo, el USCIS denegó mi solicitud de permiso de
20 trabajo, esta vez porque dijeron que no tenía una solicitud de asilo pendiente.

21 16. Estoy trabajando con un abogado para presentar una solicitud de asilo. Pero
22 como no está claro el estado de ninguna solicitud de asilo, y como solo tengo estatus legal
23 y autorización de trabajo del TPS, dependo aún más del TPS. Mi autorización de trabajo y
24 el TPS expirarán en abril de 2025, momento en el que me quedaré sin ningún estatus
25 migratorio válido, autorización de trabajo o protección contra la deportación.

26 17. Como parte de las obligaciones asociadas con mi liberación de la custodia de
27 inmigración y mis procedimientos de deportación, debo presentarme en persona ante el
28 ICE cada seis meses. He ido a cada control. Cada vez que voy, me siento extremadamente

1 nerviosa de que decidan detenerme o deportarme. Mi último control fue en septiembre de
2 2024. Mi esposo vino conmigo ese día. Esperábamos que aceptaran suspender los
3 controles porque tengo TPS. Llevamos todos mis papeles y se los mostramos al agente,
4 que dijo que no importaba si tenía TPS. Mi marido preguntó por qué era necesario que
5 siguiera presentándome, ya que tengo TPS. El agente dijo con brusquedad: “porque es
6 temporal”. Luego programó mi próximo control para mayo de 2025, el mes después de que
7 mi TPS expirara debido a la reciente terminación del TPS para Venezuela. Ahora, estoy
8 aterrorizada de que el TPS se termine y de que me detengan ese día o incluso me deporten.
9 Aunque estoy casada con un ciudadano estadounidense, no tengo un camino directo hacia
10 la residencia permanente. Mi abogado de inmigración me dijo que necesitaría una
11 exención especial para poder optar a una tarjeta verde. Actualmente estamos preparando
12 los documentos para presentar una petición I-130, que es el primer paso para el ajuste de
13 estatus a través del matrimonio, pero entiendo que el proceso puede tardar años en
14 completarse. Hasta entonces, dependo únicamente del TPS para protegerme de la
15 deportación.

16 **Impacto de la decisión de terminar la TPS**

17 18. Si se pone fin al TPS, mi familia y yo sufriremos un daño tremendo. Uno de
18 los daños más inmediatos que nos afectará si se pone fin al TPS es que ya no podré
19 conducir legalmente en Tennessee. Tuve que mostrar mi autorización de trabajo para poder
20 obtener una licencia, y mi licencia de conducir vence el mismo día que mi permiso de
21 trabajo, en abril. Dependo de mi licencia de conducir para llevar a mi hija a la escuela de
22 forma segura y para llevar a mi hijo a sus numerosas citas médicas. Si se pone fin al TPS,
23 tendría que elegir entre conducir ilegalmente sin licencia o sacar a mi hija de la escuela y
24 alterar la atención médica de mi hijo. Parece una elección imposible. No puedo interrumpir
25 la educación y el cuidado de mis hijos, pero me aterra la idea de conducir sin licencia
26 porque las fuerzas del orden locales me entregarían al ICE si descubrieran que no tengo
27 estatus legal.

28 19. Si se pone fin al TPS, no sé qué haremos. Mis hijos dependen de mí y no

1 podrían separarse de mí. Soy su principal cuidadora. Mi esposo tiene que trabajar para
2 mantener a nuestra familia, por lo que no puede cuidar de nuestros hijos a tiempo completo
3 sin mí. La sola idea de separarme de mis hijos me llena de miedo y tristeza. Al mismo
4 tiempo, me aterra vivir en Estados Unidos sin un estatus legal.

5 20. También temo que me arresten cuando me presenten en mayo si se pone fin
6 al TPS. Mi arresto sería traumático para mis hijos, que son demasiado pequeños para
7 entender mi complicada situación migratoria. La perspectiva de esto me está causando
8 mucho estrés. Empiezo a temblar con solo pensarlo. Sé que tengo que irme, pero tengo
9 mucho miedo de lo que nos pueda pasar a mí y a mi familia.

10 21. No podemos trasladar a nuestra familia a Venezuela. No puedo regresar a
11 Venezuela con mis hijos debido a mis experiencias pasadas. Allí no estaríamos seguros.
12 Nos veríamos obligados a vivir escondidos y no tendríamos adónde ir. Tampoco sé cómo
13 podría mantenerme a mí y a mis hijos. Mi esposo no puede abandonar su trabajo y
14 mudarse a Venezuela porque dependemos de sus ingresos para sobrevivir. La mayoría de
15 la gente en Venezuela vive en la pobreza, y estoy segura de que pasaríamos hambre y nos
16 faltaría vivienda, atención médica y necesidades básicas.

17 22. Tampoco podría llevar a mi hijo a Venezuela, porque se vería privado del
18 tratamiento médico que necesita. Tendría miedo por su vida. Los hospitales en Venezuela
19 están casi inoperativos. Las clínicas privadas son extremadamente caras. La falta de
20 electricidad pondría su vida en peligro si tuviera un ataque de asma y no hubiera
21 electricidad para alimentar el nebulizador.

22 23. También sería imposible para mí y mi hija regresar a Venezuela y dejar a mi
23 hijo y a mi esposo en los Estados Unidos. Nuestro hijo requiere cuidados y atención
24 médica constantes. Si mi esposo se quedara solo para cuidar de nuestro hijo, tendría que
25 dejar su trabajo. Sin embargo, su trabajo proporciona nuestro seguro médico, del que
26 dependemos para pagar el cuidado de nuestro hijo. Es realmente una situación imposible
27 para nuestra familia. Me pregunto si mi marido y mi hijo tendrían que depender de la
28 asistencia pública para sobrevivir. Y si mi marido no trabajara, no podría mantenernos a mí

1 y a mi hija en Venezuela, por lo que nuestra situación allí sería aún más desesperada.

2 24. Mi pasaporte venezolano está caducado y no hay forma de renovarlo debido
3 a la falta de relaciones diplomáticas, así que incluso si intentara viajar de vuelta a
4 Venezuela (o a cualquier otro lugar), creo que no podría hacerlo.

5 **Necesidad de anonimato**

6 25. Temo que mi participación en esta demanda nos ponga a mi familia y a mí
7 en riesgo de represalias por parte del gobierno local o federal. Mi familia depende del
8 trabajo de mi esposo como subcontratista del gobierno, y me preocupa que, si nuestros
9 nombres se asocian públicamente con esta demanda contra el gobierno, él podría enfrentar
10 consecuencias negativas en el trabajo, o incluso perder su empleo. Seguimos escuchando
11 noticias sobre el gobierno tratando de despedir gente para reducir costos, así que me temo
12 que exponer a mi esposo de alguna manera podría poner en peligro su carrera y el sustento
13 de nuestra familia.

14 26. También me preocupa que participar en esta demanda pueda llamar la
15 atención de las fuerzas del orden locales, especialmente si el TPS expira y me quedo sin
16 estatus. El clima político en Tennessee es muy antiinmigrante. Recientemente, la
17 legislatura aprobó un proyecto de ley que crea una nueva división en el Departamento de
18 Seguridad específicamente para aumentar la cooperación entre las fuerzas del orden
19 locales y las agencias de inmigración. Me temo que, si mi nombre se hace público por
20 formar parte de esta demanda, seré blanco de las fuerzas del orden locales y entregada a
21 los funcionarios de inmigración.

22 27. Sobre todo, me preocupa mi seguridad y la de mis hijos. Por desgracia,
23 vivimos en una zona con mucho racismo y un sentimiento antiinmigrante extremo. No le
24 cuento a nadie sobre mi estatus migratorio porque no quiero incomodar a nadie y porque
25 no sé en quién puedo confiar. Me siento nerviosa cada vez que salgo de casa. Tengo miedo
26 y la incertidumbre me pesa. Intento no hablar español en público porque tengo miedo de
27 que nos maltraten a mis hijos y a mí o de que nos denuncien a ICE.

28 28. El superintendente del distrito escolar de mi hija dijo recientemente que

1 cumplirían con cualquier ley que se apruebe en materia de inmigración, como la reciente
2 orden que permite a ICE entrar en las escuelas. El gobernador de Tennessee acaba de
3 firmar una ley que establece que no se pueden utilizar fondos de las escuelas concertadas
4 para estudiantes indocumentados, y también se está intentando aprobar una ley para
5 prohibir la entrada de niños indocumentados en las escuelas públicas.

6 29. Es doloroso criar a mi hija y a mi hijo en este entorno. Mi hija me pregunta si
7 es estadounidense. Tengo que explicarle que es venezolana, pero no recuerda Venezuela en
8 absoluto porque solo tenía tres años cuando nos fuimos. No entiende que no tenemos un
9 estatus permanente, y siempre tengo miedo de que sufra acoso o discriminación en la
10 escuela si alguien se entera.

11 30. A pesar de todos estos riesgos, he decidido participar en esta demanda
12 porque es importante defender lo que es correcto, y quiero poner de mi parte para
13 ayudarme a mí misma, a mi hija y a todas las demás personas buenas y trabajadoras que
14 dependen del TPS. Por todas estas razones, deseo que se me permita proceder bajo un
15 seudónimo.

16
17 31. Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que
18 esta declaración se firmó en Tennessee hoy 19 día de febrero de 2025.

19
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21 M.H.  _____
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF M.R. IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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DECLARATION OF M.R.

I, M.R., declare:

1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

2. I am a single mother caring for two children, and my aging mother, in West Virginia. I work two jobs to make ends meet, including a full-time job in the health care sector.

3. My daughter, mother, and I are all beneficiaries of the 2021 designation of Venezuela for Temporary Protected Status. I am also mother to a five-year-old U.S. citizen daughter who was born here, and over whom I share custody with her father. I am afraid that my daughter, mother, and I will all lose our TPS status, and I will lose my work authorization, in September 2025, as a result of the decision of Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem to reverse the extension of TPS for Venezuela.

4. My life and that of my family will be upended if TPS is terminated. I worry about the possibility that my family will be separated as my youngest daughter is a U.S. citizen. The health of my mother and eldest daughter, who is diabetic, are also at risk, as their health care is dependent on their TPS. And without TPS, I would not be able to continue to work, which means I could not afford the house where we live or basic necessities. But we cannot safely go back to Venezuela. Ever since Secretary Noem's decision, my life has been in a constant state of crisis.

5. I am a member of the National TPS Alliance, which I joined voluntarily because I believe in its mission to defend TPS and the rights of TPS holders.

6. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm my family and I have suffered since the announcement of the vacatur of the extension TPS for Venezuela and the harm we would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

Background

7. I am from Venezuela, and I have been in the United States since 2015 when I arrived with my two-year-old daughter on a tourist visa. I came to the United States

1 because the situation in Venezuela was deteriorating terribly. I graduated with a technical
2 degree in computer science and was working as an administrative assistant. I was unable to
3 get basic goods, like food and diapers for my baby. There were long lines in the
4 supermarket to get any food, but I couldn't wait in the lines and still keep my job.

5 8. I live together with my two daughters and my mother, who is 77 years old. I
6 am the sole provider for our family of four.

7 9. For the past two years, I have worked full-time in a hospital nutrition
8 department, helping with food preparation consistent with the health and dietary needs of
9 the hospital patients. I also work half-time at McDonalds at night.

10 10. My older daughter is now twelve years old and in seventh grade. She was
11 diagnosed with Type 1 Diabetes in 2022. As a result of her medical condition, she must
12 consult with a doctor every three months and get medicine from the pharmacy monthly.

13 11. My younger daughter is five years old and in kindergarten. She was born in
14 the United States and is a U.S. citizen. I am no longer together with her father but we share
15 custody of her.

16 12. My mother suffers from high blood pressure and also needs to see a doctor
17 every three months and get monthly prescriptions from the pharmacy.

18 **Impact of Temporary Protected Status**

19 13. My eldest daughter, mother and I registered for TPS after DHS designated
20 Venezuela for TPS in 2021. None of us have applied for asylum, so TPS is our only form
21 of immigration protection. It is also the only source of work authorization I have.

22 14. I have been terrified about my future and that of my family since the DHS
23 announcement of the imminent end of TPS for Venezuela. Every day brings me more
24 anxiety about my immigration status. I am thinking about it constantly. It is affecting me
25 emotionally and physically. I have been struggling with insomnia since the decision. This
26 is something I had not experienced before.

27 15. My mother and my daughter have chronic health conditions, and are only
28 able to access their health care as a result of our TPS. They could not access health care

1 from Medicaid if they were undocumented. And neither my older daughter nor my mother
2 would be able to get the essential medical care that they need if we were forced to leave
3 the United States for Venezuela, given the societal breakdown and economic crisis there.

4 16. My income from my two jobs is what allows us to afford to rent a home. I
5 am only able to work these jobs because of my employment authorization through TPS. I
6 am afraid of losing TPS, and then losing my ability to work.

7 17. I couldn't safely return to Venezuela; I am terrified of political retaliation
8 and persecution of those who do not support Maduro's dictatorship. Even if I wanted to,
9 and it was safe to do so, I could not because it would mean that I was separated from my
10 family—my youngest daughter would not be able to join me. I also cannot imagine
11 anywhere else I could go to, and even if I could, I do not have a passport so I would be
12 prevented from traveling internationally.

13 18. My eldest daughter is aware that she has TPS but she doesn't fully
14 understand it. I am most worried about what would happen to her if we were deported to
15 Venezuela. I know that she is anxious about her immigration status and continued access
16 to essential health services. So am I.

17 19. My younger daughter is not aware of our uncertain immigration status, but
18 she would be terribly affected if we lose our TPS. I cannot even begin to imagine what we
19 would do, and how she would be harmed. I know her father would not allow her to go to
20 Venezuela—a country in a state of crisis, where she wouldn't be able to have her basic
21 needs met, and which she has never even visited. I fear that this would mean that I would
22 be separated from her if I lost my TPS—a fate that is unimaginable.

23 **Fear for My Safety if Name Public**

24 20. I am providing this declaration anonymously because I fear for my safety
25 and that of my family. I know that in a matter of months, my mother, daughter and I are all
26 likely to lose our immigration status. I am the sole provider for my family; and my mother
27 and daughter (who also have TPS) have serious health care needs which would not be met
28 if we lose our TPS, and/or if we were deported. I am afraid that I will be targeted for

21. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and that this declaration was executed in West Virginia this 19th day of February, 2025.

M.R.

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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

I hereby attest that I have on file all holographic signatures corresponding to any signatures indicated by a conformed signature (/S/) within this e-filed document.

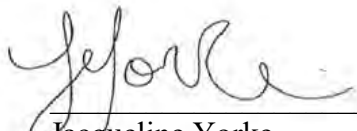
/s/ Emilou Maclean
Emilou Maclean



TRANSPERFECT


City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF M.R.**” is,
to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into
Spanish (LA).

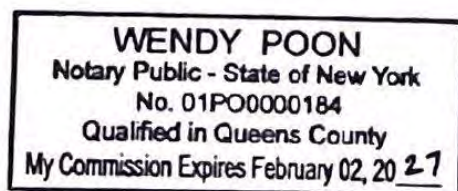


Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025



Signature, Notary Public



Stamp, Notary Public

DECLARACIÓN DE M.R.

Yo, M.R., declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración. Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Soy madre soltera y cuido a dos hijas, y a mi madre mayor, en Virginia Occidental. Sostengo dos trabajos para llegar a fin de mes, incluido un trabajo de tiempo completo en el sector de la atención médica.

3. Mi hija, mi madre y yo somos todos beneficiarios de la designación de 2021 de Venezuela para la Condición de Protección Temporal (Temporary Protected Status, TPS). También soy madre de una hija ciudadana estadounidense de cinco años que nació aquí y sobre quien comparto la custodia con su padre. Tengo miedo de que mi hija, mi madre y yo perdamos nuestra condición de TPS, y que perderé mi autorización de trabajo, en septiembre de 2025, como resultado de la decisión de la secretaria del Departamento de Seguridad Nacional, Kristi Noem, de revertir la extensión de la TPS para Venezuela.

4. Mi vida y la de mi familia se verán alteradas si se da por terminada la TPS. Me preocupa la posibilidad de que mi familia sea separada ya que mi hija menor es ciudadana estadounidense. La salud de mi madre e hija mayor, que es diabética, también están en riesgo, ya que su atención médica depende de su TPS. Y sin la TPS, no podría continuar trabajando, lo que significa que no podría pagar la casa donde vivimos ni las necesidades básicas. Pero no podemos volver a Venezuela de manera segura. Desde la decisión de la secretaria Noem, mi vida ha estado en un estado constante de crisis.

5. Soy miembro de la National TPS Alliance, a la que me inscribí voluntariamente porque creo en su misión de defender la TPS y los derechos de los titulares de la TPS.

6. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que mi familia y yo hemos sufrido desde el anuncio del *vacatur* de la TPS de extensión para Venezuela y el daño que sufriríamos si la TPS finalmente se terminara.

Antecedentes

ER0548

1 7. Soy de Venezuela y he estado en los Estados Unidos desde 2015 cuando
2 llegué con mi hija de dos años con una visa de turista. Vine a los Estados Unidos porque la
3 situación en Venezuela se deterioraba terriblemente. Me gradué con un título técnico en
4 ciencias informáticas y trabajaba como asistente administrativo. No podía obtener
5 productos básicos, como alimentos y pañales para mi bebé. Había largas filas en el
6 supermercado para comprar comida, pero no podía esperar en ellas y seguir manteniendo
7 mi trabajo.

8 8. Vivo con mis dos hijas y mi madre, que tiene 77 años de edad. Soy la única
9 proveedora de nuestra familia de cuatro integrantes.

10 9. Durante los últimos dos años, he trabajado a tiempo completo en el
11 departamento de nutrición de un hospital, ayudando en la preparación de alimentos de
12 acuerdo con las necesidades de salud y dieta de los pacientes del hospital. Además, trabajo
13 medio tiempo en McDonalds por la noche.

14 10. Mi hija mayor ahora tiene doce años y está en séptimo grado. Se le
15 diagnosticó diabetes tipo 1 en 2022. Como resultado de su afección médica, debe consultar
16 a un médico cada tres meses y obtener medicamentos de la farmacia mensualmente.

17 11. Mi hija menor tiene cinco años y está en el jardín de infantes. Nació en los
18 Estados Unidos y es ciudadana estadounidense. Ya no estamos juntos con su padre, pero
19 compartimos la custodia de ella.

20 12. Mi madre sufre de presión arterial alta y también necesita ver a un médico
21 cada tres meses y obtener recetas mensuales de la farmacia.

22 **Impacto de la Condición de protección temporal**

23 13. Mi hija mayor, mi madre y yo nos registramos para la TPS después de que el
24 DHS designara a Venezuela para la TPS en 2021. Ninguno de nosotros ha solicitado asilo,
25 por lo que la TPS es nuestra única forma de protección de inmigración. También es la
26 única fuente de autorización de trabajo que tengo.

27 14. He estado aterrorizada con respecto a mi futuro y el de mi familia desde el
28 anuncio del DHS del inminente final de la TPS para Venezuela. Todos los días me genera

1 más ansiedad sobre mi condición migratoria. Pienso en ello constantemente. Me está
2 afectando emocional y físicamente. He estado luchando contra el insomnio desde la
3 decisión. Esto es algo que no había vivido antes.

4 15. Mi madre y mi hija tienen afecciones médicas crónicas y solo pueden
5 acceder a su atención médica como resultado de nuestra TPS. No podrían acceder a la
6 atención médica de Medicaid si no estuvieran documentadas. Y ni mi hija mayor ni mi
7 madre podrían obtener la atención médica esencial que necesitan si nos viéramos obligadas
8 a salir de los Estados Unidos y regresar a Venezuela, dada la crisis económica y social allí.

9 16. Los ingresos de mis dos trabajos es lo que nos permite pagar el alquiler de
10 una casa. Solo puedo trabajar en estos trabajos debido a mi autorización de empleo a través
11 de la TPS. Tengo miedo de perder la TPS y luego perder mi capacidad para trabajar.

12 17. No podía regresar de manera segura a Venezuela; me aterrorizan las
13 represalias políticas y la persecución de aquellos que no apoyan la dictadura de Maduro.
14 Incluso si hubiese querido, y si hubiese sido seguro hacerlo, no podía porque eso habría
15 significado que me separara de mi familia; mi hija menor no podría acompañarme.
16 Tampoco puedo imaginarme a ningún otro lugar al que pudiera ir, e incluso si pudiera, no
17 tengo un pasaporte, por lo que se me impediría viajar internacionalmente.

18 18. Mi hija mayor es consciente de que tiene la TPS, pero no lo entiende
19 completamente. Me preocupa más lo que podría pasarle si fuéramos deportadas a
20 Venezuela. Sé que está ansiosa por su condición migratoria y por el acceso continuo a
21 servicios esenciales de salud. Yo también lo estoy.

22 19. Mi hija menor no está al tanto de nuestro estado incierto de inmigración,
23 pero se vería terriblemente afectada si perdiéramos nuestra TPS. Ni siquiera puedo
24 comenzar a imaginar lo que haríamos y cómo se vería perjudicada. Sé que su padre no le
25 permitiría ir a Venezuela, un país en estado de crisis, donde no podría satisfacer sus
26 necesidades básicas y que nunca ha visitado. Temo que esto signifique que me separaría de
27 ella si perdiera mi TPS, un destino que es inimaginable.

28 **Miedo por mi seguridad si mi nombre se hace público**

ER0550

1 20. Proporciono esta declaración de forma anónima porque temo por mi
2 seguridad y la de mi familia. Sé que, en cuestión de meses, mi madre, mi hija y yo tenemos
3 probabilidades de perder nuestra condición migratoria. Soy la única proveedora de mi
4 familia; y mi madre e hija (que también tienen TPS) tienen necesidades de atención médica
5 graves que no se cubrirían si perdiéramos nuestra TPS y/o si fuéramos deportadas. Tengo
6 miedo de estar bajo la mira por hablar sobre mi experiencia y mis miedos, y apoyar esta
7 demanda que está desafiando tanto al gobierno de EE. UU. como al venezolano. Tengo
8 miedo de que eso signifique que podría ser blanco y que me prioricen para la aplicación de
9 la ley de inmigración, particularmente porque TPS es lo único que me impide estar
10 indocumentada; y porque la administración de Trump se ha estado focalizando en
11 venezolanos para su deportación. También temo que esto podría causarme daño a mí y a
12 mi familia si nos viéramos obligados a regresar a Venezuela.

13 21. Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que
14 esta declaración se firmó en Virginia Occidental a los 19 días de febrero de 2025.

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17 M.R.
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF JOSE A. PALMA
JIMENEZ IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY
ACTION**

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1 | **DECLARATION OF JOSE A. PALMA JIMENEZ**

3 I, José A. Palma Jimenez, declare:

1. I am Co-Coordinator of the National TPS Alliance (NTPSA). I have worked with the NTPSA in various roles since it was founded in 2017. I served as Co-Coordinator in 2019 and again from June 2023 through the present.

2. As Co-Coordinator, I oversee NTPSA's daily work, including its organizing and advocacy efforts, leadership development, and member relations. I have detailed knowledge about NTPSA's membership, including membership demographics, member needs and priorities, and the role members play in setting NTPSA's mission and advocacy.

3. I make this declaration based on my personal knowledge; files and documents of NTPSA that I have reviewed; and information provided to me by NTPSA leaders who I believe to be reliable, including NTPSA organizers, members of the NTPSA Executive Committee, local Committee Coordinators, and other NTPSA-affiliated staff. These files, documents and information are the type that is generated in the ordinary course of business and that I would customarily rely on in conducting NTPSA business.

7 Background on NTPSA

8 4. NTPSA is a member-led organization whose mission is to defend the
9 Temporary Protected Status (TPS) program and win a path to permanent residency for TPS
10 holders.

5. NTPSA is a project of, and is fiscally sponsored by, the Central American Resource Center – CARECEN – of California (“CARECEN”), a non-profit organization that has worked for more than four decades to provide immigrant integration programs, deliver immigration legal services, and foster civic participation and community engagement on immigration policy, education reform and workers’ rights. CARECEN is incorporated and has its primary address in Los Angeles.

6. The NTPSA is also supported by the National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON), a non-profit organization that improves the lives of day laborers,

1 migrants, and low-wage workers by building leadership and power among those facing
2 injustice so they can challenge inequality and expand labor, civil, and political rights for
3 all. NDLON provides staffing, mentorship, and other support for the NTPSA. For
4 example, I am employed by NDLON to serve as Co-Coordinator of the NTPSA.

5 7. Current and former TPS holders, as well as family and other supporters of
6 TPS holders, can become NTPSA members by either joining a local NTPSA committee or
7 submitting an individual membership application. After review and approval, NTPSA
8 notifies individuals whose applications have been accepted. Individuals who are interested
9 in starting a new local NTPSA Committee may do so by sending a letter to the Executive
10 Committee for review and approval.

11 8. Membership in NTPSA is voluntary and free.

12 9. NTPSA has TPS holder members from Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar),
13 Cameroon, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Lebanon, Nepal, Nicaragua, Sudan, Ukraine,
14 Venezuela, and Yemen.

15 10. NTPSA prioritizes the leadership of TPS holders within our organization and
16 within broader efforts to defend TPS. A slogan we often use is, “Nothing about us without
17 us.” We believe that TPS holders need to be at the table for decisions that affect our lives
18 as TPS-holders.

19 11. I myself am a TPS holder from El Salvador. As a TPS holder, I am able to
20 understand and connect with NTPSA’s TPS holder members at a deeply personal level.

21 12. There are currently 25 local NTPSA committees active in 14 states:
22 Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nebraska,
23 Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia. Approximately 80
24 percent of NTPSA’s local committee members are TPS holders.

25 13. In addition, NTPSA has over 84,000 Venezuelan TPS holder members living
26 in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

27 14. The NTPSA was founded in June 2017 at a meeting in Washington D.C.
28 called by NDLON and CARECEN to respond to the imminent termination of TPS for

1 Haiti, that had been announced in May of that year.

2 15. Several hundred people, including myself, attended the June 2017 meeting.
3 At the meeting, attendees—the vast majority of whom were TPS holders—made the
4 decision to form the National TPS Alliance.

5 16. Today, the NTPSA is led by an Executive Committee, members of which are
6 selected every two years by NTPSA members. The majority of Executive Committee
7 members are TPS holders. The Executive Committee meets regularly throughout the year
8 and makes decisions by majority vote.

9 17. The NTPSA also maintains working groups on specific subjects, like
10 leadership development and communications. NTPSA members may volunteer to
11 participate in working groups. Working groups meet regularly throughout the year.

12 18. In addition, the NTPSA generally holds two in-person gatherings a year: a
13 Leaders Assembly, where member leaders participate and elect members of the Executive
14 Committee; and a Coordinators' Meeting, where local committee coordinators meet to
15 strategize.

16 19. NTPSA operates under a democratic model. Local committees and working
17 groups develop work plans and proposals and send them to the Executive Committee for
18 review and approval via majority vote.

19 20. When individual members join the NTPSA, they are invited to make
20 suggestions about what they would change about the TPS program. The NTPSA reviews
21 those answers to help determine what projects, campaigns, and other work to take on.
22 NTPSA also continuously gathers feedback from individual members to further shape
23 NTPSA's work.

24 21. The NTPSA engages in advocacy to defend TPS and win a path to
25 permanent status for TPS holders; organizes actions to raise public awareness about TPS
26 and the contributions TPS holders make to this country; facilitates community and civic
27 engagement by TPS holders; and provides access to timely and accurate TPS-related
28 information and services to its members.

1 22. For example, in 2018, the NTPSA organized a “Journey for Justice” in which
2 approximately 50 TPS holders, their families, and other civil rights leaders embarked on a
3 journey by bus across the United States to oppose the TPS terminations for El Salvador,
4 Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua and Sudan that were announced in 2017 and 2018. The
5 bus was welcomed by faith and community groups in towns and cities across the country,
6 where riders met with the local community to build support for TPS holders. In 2021,
7 NTPSA organized a similar Journey for Justice, which emphasized both the continuing
8 threat to TPS and the role many TPS holders played in supporting the country through the
9 pandemic as food and healthcare workers. I personally participated in both journeys.

10 23. The NTPSA has also organized numerous marches, hunger strikes, and
11 teach-ins to defend TPS and call for a path to permanent residency for TPS holders. For
12 example, in 2021, members of the NTPSA held a 43-day rolling hunger strike in Liberty
13 Plaza in Washington, D.C. to call for permanent residency for TPS holders. Throughout
14 the hunger strike, the NTPSA held weekly press conferences, conducted teach-ins, hosted
15 live musical performances, and handed out educational materials.

16 24. The NTPSA has also kept the TPS community informed about developments
17 in the TPS program via meetings and webinars; social media postings; and a weekly radio
18 show called Radio Alianza TPS.

19 25. The NTPSA played a key role in explaining the developments in the *Ramos*
20 *v. Mayorkas* and *Bhattarai v. Mayorkas* litigation, which challenged the 2017 and 2018
21 terminations of TPS for El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Sudan (in *Ramos*) and for
22 Honduras and Nepal (in *Bhattarai*), to its members. Throughout the six-year litigation, the
23 NTPSA kept members informed about developments via meetings, conference calls, and
24 written advisories. It also coordinated rallies and press conferences at key hearings,
25 including outside the oral arguments that took place at the Ninth Circuit and *en banc* Ninth
26 Circuit hearings.

27 26. Since Venezuela was first designated for TPS in 2021, the NTPSA has
28 worked closely with its Venezuelan TPS holder members and the Venezuelan TPS holder

1 community. For example, in 2023 and 2024, NTPSA coordinated approximately 7-10 legal
2 clinics in Baltimore, Boston, California, Georgia, and Houston at which it assisted
3 Venezuelans to register for or renew their TPS.

4 27. Following DHS's decision to vacate the January 2025 Extension of
5 Venezuela's TPS designation, and terminate Venezuela's 2023 designation, the NTPSA
6 has worked to provide timely, accurate information to Venezuelan TPS holders about the
7 status of Venezuela's designation and to organize a response, including through a virtual
8 community meeting attended by over 1,000 TPS holders that the NTPSA organized just
9 days after the termination order.

10 **The Vacatur of Venezuela's TPS Extension and the Subsequent Termination of**
11 **Venezuela's TPS Designation Harm NTPSA's Members**

12 28. NTPSA's Venezuelan TPS holder members face serious harm from the
13 vacatur of the January 17, 2025 TPS extension and the subsequent decision to terminate
14 Venezuela's 2023 TPS designation.

15 29. NTPSA's Venezuelan TPS holder members who initially registered under
16 Venezuela's 2023 designation will lose their work authorization on April 3, 2025 and face
17 the prospect of deportation beginning April 7, 2025.

18 30. NTPSA's Venezuelan TPS holder members who initially registered under
19 Venezuela's 2021 designation have seen their period of work authorization and lawful
20 status cut short by 13 months, from October 2, 2026 to September 10, 2025.

21 31. The vacatur and termination decisions have caused tremendous stress and
22 anxiety for our Venezuelan TPS holder members.

23 32. Members have called me feeling palpably anxious and desperate, because
24 they do not know what to do. One member began to cry when he told me about his 80-
25 year-old mother, a Venezuelan TPS holder who has been so scared since the termination
26 announcement that she will not leave the house.

27 33. Many of our members are beginning to make plans for selling their homes
28 and cars, ending their leases, and collecting their belongings in preparation to leave the

1 country. But they do not believe they can safely return to Venezuela because there is no
2 security and the economy is in total collapse. If the United States will not allow them to
3 stay, they do not know where they will go. This problem is even more difficult because
4 many do not have valid passports and are unable to travel.

5 34. Several of the Individual Plaintiffs in this lawsuit are members of the
6 NTPSA. To further illustrate the harms that Venezuelan NTPSA members face as a result
7 of the actions challenged in this lawsuit, I share below the stories of some of the other
8 individual NTPSA members whom I and other NTPSA-affiliated staff have tried to
9 support during this difficult time:

10 35. C.H., a NTPSA member in Brooklyn, New York, is a beneficiary of the
11 2021 Venezuela designation of TPS. She is expecting to lose her TPS in September 2025.
12 She is 42 years old and has lived in the United States since 2019. C.H. applied for asylum
13 soon after she arrived in the United States, but her application has not been processed. An
14 engineer by profession, C.H. has worked for the past four years as a contractor with a
15 prominent electrical company.

16 36. C.H. has been living in fear since the termination of TPS for Venezuela. She
17 fears that she will lose her legal status and right to remain in the United States; and she
18 cannot safely return to Venezuela due to fear of lack of civil rights, getting jailed, tortured
19 or worse. She has no valid passport and so could not legally travel internationally even if
20 she wanted to leave, because of the lack of a Venezuelan consular office in the United
21 States. While she has a pending asylum application, she is aware that this does not provide
22 her legal status and the right to remain, and that her asylum petition could be denied at any
23 time. She would then have no work authorization, and without that, no ability to pay for
24 her rent, health benefits, and other basic needs, or to provide support to elderly and ailing
25 relatives in Venezuela. C.H. is concerned about the high-level targeting of Venezuelans in
26 particular. She thinks the classification by the president of all Venezuelans as criminals
27 means that people look at her differently and that she will face increasing discrimination.
28 She cancelled recent long-distance travel, and tries to limit her time out of the house, as a

1 result of heightened fears that she will be targeted as a Venezuelan immigrant. She has not
2 slept well, and has suffered ongoing flashbacks to her life in Venezuela—specifically, the
3 destruction of institutions overnight and targeting of vulnerable individuals.

4 37. **A.N.** lives in Kansas and is a beneficiary of the 2023 Venezuela designation.
5 She is 24 years old and has lived in the United States since 2022. Her parents and
6 boyfriend also have TPS under Venezuela’s designation and live in Kansas. A.N. applied
7 for asylum soon after she arrived in the United States, but has not had an interview, or seen
8 any movement on her application. She currently works in the insurance industry, helping
9 elderly people identify their insurance options. A.N. is afraid of losing her TPS because it
10 is all that she is relying on for her legal status. While she has a pending asylum application,
11 which allows her to have work authorization at least so long as her asylum application is
12 not denied, this does not protect her from deportation or immigration detention as her TPS
13 does. As a result, she has felt tremendous fear and vulnerability since the decision by DHS
14 Secretary Noem to terminate TPS for Venezuela. She and her boyfriend have discussed
15 whether they need to leave the country, and they do not know where they could go. They
16 do not feel that they could safely return to Venezuela because they fear being persecuted.

17 38. **A.N.** has also felt the painful stigma of President Trump and Secretary
18 Noem’s statements labeling all Venezuelans in the United States as criminals. She feels
19 she is between a rock and a hard place—on the one side, she would be persecuted in
20 Venezuela, in part because of her time in the United States, and on the other side, the
21 United States is falsely categorizing her and all Venezuelans as criminals tied to the Tren
22 de Aragua gang, solely by virtue of her nationality. Restoring TPS for Venezuela would
23 alleviate some of the stigma A.N. has felt in connection with the termination of the
24 designation and the President and Secretary’s statements about Venezuela.

25 39. **C.D.**, a 60-year old father of three, holds TPS under Venezuela’s 2021
26 designation. He lives in Houston, Texas, where he and his wife own their own home. They
27 have consistently paid their taxes. C.D. works for a temporary staffing agency and was
28 recently diagnosed with prostate cancer. If he loses his TPS in September 2025 he would

1 lose his job and be unable to pay for his mortgage and health care, which would be
2 economically devastating for him and his wife. Losing TPS would also expose C.D. to
3 risk of being deported from the United States, which would inflict many harms, including
4 preventing him from accessing the medical care he needs to treat his cancer.

5 40. **L.G.** holds TPS under Venezuela’s 2023 designation. She lives in Houston,
6 Texas with her husband. In Venezuela, L.G. worked as a journalist and, before that, with a
7 professional theatre company. She and her husband came to the U.S. under the CNHV
8 parole program, under sponsorship from her husband’s employer. They are now preparing
9 to sell their belongings and return to Venezuela, but they may not be able to afford basic
10 food and medicine if forced to return to Venezuela.

11 41. **A.G.** lives in South Carolina and has a pending application for TPS under
12 Venezuela’s 2023 designation. Under the January 2025 extension, approval of her
13 application would have resulted in TPS and work authorization through October 2026. In
14 Venezuela, A.G. received her degree in engineering and worked in business. A.G. first
15 arrived in the United States in 2021. She fears persecution if she were forced to return to
16 Venezuela, but never filed an asylum application because she believed her partner, a U.S.
17 citizen, would sponsor her for a visa. However, she and her partner have now separated
18 and A.G. is completely dependent on TPS for her lawful status and her work permit. She
19 does not know what she will do if she loses her TPS in April.

20 42. If this lawsuit were successful in setting aside the vacatur of the January 17,
21 2025 TPS extension and the subsequent decision to terminate Venezuela’s 2023 TPS
22 designation, it would further the interests of the NTPSA’s members.

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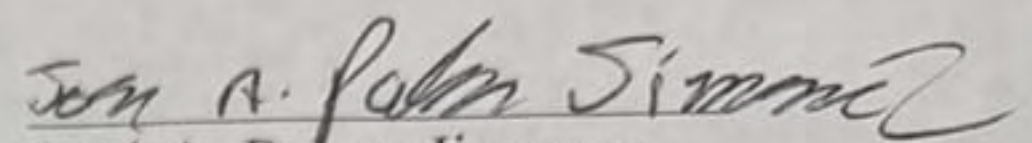
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1 I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and that this
2 declaration was executed at Los Angeles, California this 19th day of February, 2025.

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5 José A. Palma Jimenez
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Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF ALBA CECILIA
PURICA HERNANDEZ IN SUPPORT OF
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EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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1 **DECLARATION OF ALBA CECILIA PURICA HERNANDEZ**

2 I, Alba Cecilia Purica Hernández, declare:

3 1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called
4 upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

5 2. I am a native of Venezuela and I am a beneficiary of Temporary Protected
6 Status (TPS). I am 24 years old, and I have lived in the United States since 2022. I
7 currently work providing child care. TPS is my only form of immigration protection. I
8 registered for TPS based on the 2023 designation, and I am at risk of losing my legal
9 immigration status in April 2025. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm I
10 have suffered since the announcement of the termination of the extension TPS for
11 Venezuela and the harm I would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

12 **Background**

13 3. I grew up in a town on the outskirts of Caracas, in the State of
14 Miranda, Venezuela. My sister and I were raised by our maternal grandmother. My parents
15 divorced when I was a baby. They would visit us, but I did not live with either of them full
16 time. After I graduated high school, I went to study at a technical school in Caracas to be
17 an administrative assistant. Around that time, Venezuela was becoming very unstable. My
18 family lived day to day, usually able to secure food, but in a constant state of survival, no
19 more. There were shortages of basic necessities, empty shelves at the supermarket, electric
20 blackouts, protests and civil unrest, and the constant threat of political violence.
21 Sometimes, I felt like I was physically suffocating because I was under so much stress.

22 4. In 2022 life became completely unbearable and I decided to leave
23 Venezuela, arriving in the United States in July 2022. I presented myself to immigration
24 officials in Eagle Pass, Texas. After a day and a half of processing, they released me and
25 took me to San Antonio. About two days later, I flew from San Antonio to Oakland,
26 California.

27 **Impact of TPS**

28 5. When TPS was designated, I applied with the help of a local non-profit. I

1 was so, so happy when my TPS was approved. Although it was only temporary status, I
2 understood that it would likely be renewed if the situation in Venezuela did not improve.
3 Since I knew that was very unlikely to happen in the near future, I hoped that TPS would
4 give me enough stability to work and have a decent standard of living, at least until a time
5 when it might be safe for me to return to Venezuela.

6 6. With TPS, I finally felt safe and comfortable. It gave me a lot of
7 opportunities. I was able to open a bank account and get a California ID. TPS opened the
8 doors for me to be able to get my feet on the ground. Now I have a studio apartment in San
9 Leandro, California. Since August 2024, I have been working as a child care provider in a
10 day care in Oakland, California. I love my job, because the children are so much fun to be
11 around. They are so pure and loving, and spending time with those little children helps me
12 take my mind off my worries. I love getting to know their little personalities and watching
13 them grow. I am also studying to get my GED. My diploma from Venezuela cannot be
14 validated, so the first step is for me to get my GED so that I can then continue my
15 education. My dream is to become a nurse.

16 **Impact of the Decision to Vacate TPS Extension**

17 7. When I read the news online that the TPS extension had been revoked, I
18 couldn't believe it. I felt sad, scared, and adrift. I saw that Secretary Noem called us
19 criminals, and I felt a deep sense of injustice and outrage. It is racist to say that all
20 Venezuelans are criminals. They want to deport us because of our nationality, not because
21 of anything else. They see us as less than human.

22 8. The next day, I had an appointment with my legal service provider. She
23 helped me submit an application to renew my TPS because the decision to revoke the
24 extension had not yet been published. I have not received any receipt for that application.

25 9. If TPS expires in April, I do not know what I will do. Without TPS, I will not
26 have authorization to work. If I cannot work, I will not be able to pay my rent or support
27 myself. I truly am at a loss. I cannot return to Venezuela. I do not have a life or a future
28 there.

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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

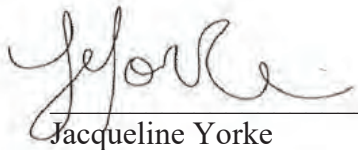
I hereby attest that I have on file all holographic signatures corresponding to any signatures indicated by a conformed signature (/S/) within this e-filed document.

/s/ Emilou Maclean
Emilou Maclean

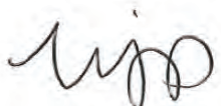
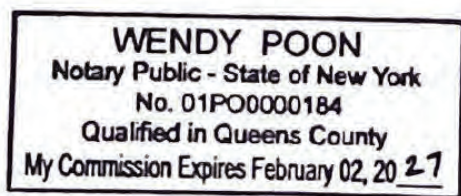


City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF ALBA CECILIA PURICA HERNANDEZ**” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into Spanish (LA).


Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025


Signature, Notary Public

Stamp, Notary Public

1 **DECLARACIÓN DE ALBA CECILIA PURICA HERNÁNDEZ**

2 Yo, Alba Cecilia Purica Hernández, declaro lo siguiente:

3 1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración.
4 Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

5 2. Soy nativa de Venezuela y beneficiaria del Estatus de Protección Temporal
6 (Temporary Protected Status, TPS). Tengo 24 años y vivo en Estados Unidos desde 2022.
7 Actualmente trabajo cuidando niños. El TPS es mi única forma de protección migratoria.
8 Me inscribí en el TPS con la designación de 2023 y corro el riesgo de perder mi estatus
9 migratorio legal en abril de 2025. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que he
10 sufrido desde el anuncio de la finalización de la extensión del TPS para Venezuela y el
11 daño que sufriría si finalmente se pone fin al TPS.

12 **Antecedentes**

13 3. Me crie en un pueblo a las afueras de Caracas, en el estado de Miranda,
14 Venezuela. Mi hermana y yo fuimos criadas por nuestra abuela materna. Mis padres se
15 divorciaron cuando yo era una bebé. Nos visitaban, pero no vivía con ninguno de ellos a
16 tiempo completo. Después de graduarme de la escuela secundaria, fui a estudiar a una
17 escuela técnica en Caracas para ser asistente administrativa. Por aquel entonces, Venezuela
18 se estaba volviendo muy inestable. Mi familia vivía al día, normalmente podía conseguir
19 comida, pero en un estado constante de supervivencia, nada más. Había escasez de
20 productos de primera necesidad, estantes vacíos en el supermercado, apagones, protestas y
21 disturbios civiles, y la amenaza constante de violencia política. A veces, sentía que me
22 asfixiaba físicamente porque estaba bajo mucho estrés.

23 4. En 2022 la vida se volvió completamente insoportable y decidí irme de
24 Venezuela, y llegué a Estados Unidos en julio de 2022. Me presenté ante los funcionarios
25 de inmigración en Eagle Pass, Texas. Después de un día y medio de trámites, me liberaron
26 y me llevaron a San Antonio. Unos dos días después, volé de San Antonio a Oakland,
27 California.

28 **Impacto del TPS**

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1 5. Cuando se designó el TPS, solicité la ayuda de una organización local sin
2 ánimo de lucro. Me alegré mucho cuando me concedieron el TPS. Aunque era solo un
3 estatus temporal, entendí que seguramente se renovaría si la situación en Venezuela no
4 mejoraba. Como sabía que era muy poco probable que eso sucediera en un futuro próximo,
5 esperaba que el TPS me diera suficiente estabilidad para trabajar y tener un nivel de vida
6 decente, al menos hasta el momento en que pudiera ser seguro para mí regresar a
7 Venezuela.

8 6. Con el TPS, finalmente me sentí segura y cómoda. Me dio muchas
9 oportunidades. Pude abrir una cuenta bancaria y obtener una identificación de California.
10 El TPS me abrió las puertas para poder poner los pies sobre la tierra. Ahora tengo un
11 apartamento estudio en San Leandro, California. Desde agosto de 2024, trabajo como
12 cuidadora de niños en una guardería en Oakland, California. Me encanta mi trabajo,
13 porque es muy divertido estar con los niños. Son tan puros y cariñosos, y pasar tiempo con
14 esos pequeños me ayuda a distraerme de mis preocupaciones. Me encanta conocer sus
15 pequeñas personalidades y verlos crecer. También estoy estudiando para obtener mi GED.
16 Mi diploma de Venezuela no puede ser validado, así que el primer paso es obtener mi
17 GED para poder continuar mi educación. Mi sueño es ser enfermera.

18 **Impacto de la decisión de anular la extensión del TPS**

19 7. Cuando leí en Internet la noticia de que la extensión del TPS había sido
20 revocada, no me lo podía creer. Me sentí triste, asustada y a la deriva. Vi que la secretaria
21 Noem nos llamó criminales, y sentí una profunda sensación de injusticia e indignación. Es
22 racista decir que todos los venezolanos son criminales. Nos quieren deportar por nuestra
23 nacionalidad, no por otra cosa. Nos ven como menos que humanos.

24 8. Al día siguiente, tuve una cita con mi proveedora de servicios legales. Me
25 ayudó a presentar una solicitud para renovar mi TPS porque la decisión de revocar la
26 extensión aún no se había publicado. No he recibido ningún comprobante de esa solicitud.

27 9. Si el TPS expira en abril, no sé qué haré. Sin el TPS, no tendré autorización
28 para trabajar. Si no puedo trabajar, no podré pagar el alquiler ni mantenerme. Realmente

1 estoy perdida. No puedo volver a Venezuela. No tengo una vida ni un futuro allí.

2 10. Incluso si pudiera regresar a Venezuela de forma segura, no tengo forma de
3 llegar allí. No tengo pasaporte venezolano y no hay embajadas en Estados Unidos. Me
4 siento atrapada de nuevo, porque no puedo ir a Venezuela, pero me enfrento a perder la
5 medida de estabilidad que he logrado en Estados Unidos gracias al TPS. Mi único deseo es
6 quedarme aquí, trabajando y estudiando, para poder mantenerme y vivir una vida digna.
7 No soy una delincuente.

8 11. Después de llegar a EE. UU., tuve un caso en el tribunal de inmigración,
9 pero se cerró después de que recibí mi TPS. Ahora, tengo miedo de que me sometan a un
10 proceso de deportación de nuevo si pierdo mi TPS.

11 12. Al principio, tenía miedo de participar en esta demanda. En Venezuela, no es
12 seguro criticar al gobierno. Pensé que podrían arrestarme o deportarme por hablar.
13 Después de pensarlo mucho, decidí participar porque para mí es importante defender mis
14 derechos y los de los demás.

15 13. También soy miembro de la Alianza Nacional del TPS. Me uní
16 voluntariamente porque creo en la misión de la NTPSA de defender el programa del TPS.
17 He estado en comunicación con José Palma, co-coordinador de la NTPSA, sobre el trabajo
18 para defender el programa del TPS y sobre este litigio. Es inspirador ver a tanta gente
19 unirse para apoyarse mutuamente. Yo también quiero hacer algo para ayudar a mi
20 comunidad, y alzar mi voz contra la decisión de poner fin al TPS es mi forma de hacerlo.

21 14. Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que
22 esta declaración se firmó en San Leandro, California, hoy 19 día de febrero de 2025.

23
24 
25 Alba Cecilia Purica Hernández
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS,
M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ
HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA
HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., and HENDRINA
VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

v.

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as
Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED
STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND
SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA,

Defendants.

Case No. 25-cv-1766

**DECLARATION OF HENDRINA VIVAS
CASTILLO IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO POSTPONE
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AGENCY ACTION**

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1313 West 8th Street
11 Los Angeles, CA 90017
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1 **DECLARATION OF HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO**

2 I, Hendrina Vivas Castillo, declare:

3 1. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration. If called
4 upon to testify as a witness, I could do so and would testify to these facts.

5 2. I am 49 years old and a citizen of Venezuela. I have lived in the United
6 States since July 2023, and I am a beneficiary of the 2023 designation of Temporary
7 Protected Status (TPS). As a result of the decision by Secretary of Homeland Security
8 Kristi Noem to terminate TPS for Venezuela, I expect to lose my work authorization and
9 driver's license on April 2, 2025, and my legal status on April 7, 2025.

10 3. I am a member of the National TPS Alliance, and joined voluntarily because
11 I believe in the mission of the organization to defend the TPS program.

12 4. I am submitting this declaration to describe the harm I have suffered since
13 the announcement of the vacatur of the extension of TPS for Venezuela, and the harm we
14 would suffer if TPS is ultimately terminated.

15 **Background**

16 5. In Venezuela, I was a small business owner. In around 2019, together with
17 my brother and a family friend, I started a business to manufacture egg separators. Many
18 people did not believe it was possible to start a business in Venezuela with the economic
19 and political crisis, but we believed in ourselves and we wanted to try.

20 6. At first, our main problem was that, due to rationing of electricity, the lights
21 kept being shut off. We would go up to five or six hours without light.

22 7. Our problems got worse when the government declared that the recycled
23 cardboard and paper that was a primary material in our factory was to be considered
24 "material of strategic importance" to the government. After that, it became much more
25 difficult and expensive to buy and transport the material we needed.

26 8. In around 2022, one of my business partners was detained by the National
27 Guard. They accused him of transporting material of strategic importance without proper
28 permission and threatened him with up to twenty years in prison. Ultimately, he was

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1 released after six days, but the experience was terrifying for me. Every day that he was
2 detained, I traveled two to three hours to the jail to bring him food. In Venezuela, the
3 conditions in jails are horrible. There is not enough food and people die of hunger and
4 sickness. If a prisoner's family or friends do not bring them food, they do not eat.

5 9. I was so scared after that that I never returned to our factory.

6 10. Ultimately, we had to close our business down. It just became too difficult
7 and expensive to keep it open.

8 11. On top of the problems with my business, the economic crisis in Venezuela
9 was affecting me emotionally. Daily life in Venezuela is very difficult. You regularly go
10 five or six hours without electricity. There are very long lines to purchase natural gas and
11 gasoline. I started to feel constantly depressed by the situation. It seemed like I could pass
12 my entire life away just waiting for things to improve and wondering if they ever would.

13 12. In July 2023, I decided to visit the United States. At the time, I did not intend
14 to stay long-term. My plan was to get to know the country a little and then return to
15 Venezuela. I flew to Los Angeles, and entered on a visitor visa. A close friend from
16 Venezuela let me stay with her at her home.

17 13. In October 2023, while I was still visiting the United States, Venezuela was
18 designated for Temporary Protected Status. Since I had arrived before July 31, 2023, I was
19 eligible to apply. My family in Venezuela encouraged me to stay in the United States
20 because the situation in Venezuela remained extremely difficult.

21 **Impact of Temporary Protected Status**

22 14. When I received my TPS status and work authorization, I felt blessed. I was
23 so content to be able to be here in this country lawfully. It was deeply satisfying to be able
24 to get a driver's license and social security number, open my own bank account, and start
25 to work.

26 15. Before receiving my work permit I did only odd jobs here and there, like
27 cleaning homes and babysitting. Once I had my work authorization and a drivers' license,
28 my friend showed me how to apply for work with some app-based delivery companies.

1 My economic situation started to improve.

2 16. As I settled in to my new life in Los Angeles, I felt my emotional state began
3 to change. I no longer felt depressed all the time. I felt more stable, both emotionally and
4 economically. I was happy.

5 17. With my delivery jobs, I was able to send some money back to my parents
6 and my adult daughter in Venezuela. All the Venezuelans I know who live outside of the
7 country do this. We have to help our families, because it is so difficult to get by on the
8 salaries in Venezuela.

9 18. My mother is a professor. She has a graduate degree. But in Venezuela, she
10 still does not earn enough to buy the basic things she needs. The money that I send her
11 helps her and my father to buy food and medicine.

12 **Impact of the Decision to Terminate TPS**

13 19. In January of this year, I learned about the extension of Venezuela's TPS
14 designation from an immigration lawyer I follow on social media. I felt so relieved, like a
15 weight was lifted from my chest.

16 20. Then, a few weeks later, I woke up to find many messages on my phone
17 from a close family friend. She let me know that the TPS extension had been revoked. I
18 was consumed by worry and stress. My mind was racing, trying to figure out what to do.

19 21. I recently applied for asylum based on persecution I experienced in
20 Venezuela. But I understand that my pending asylum application does not protect me
21 against the possibility of deportation once my TPS expires.

22 22. A few days after the TPS extension was revoked, union organizers who have
23 been helping us delivery drivers organize to improve our working conditions called a
24 meeting to talk about TPS. They shared that an organization called the National TPS
25 Alliance was working with TPS holders to try to defend the TPS program. I felt nervous,
26 but I decided that I wanted to get involved because these TPS decisions are affecting my
27 life.

28 23. I joined the National TPS Alliance voluntarily, because I believe in its

1 mission to defend TPS. Speaking to other NTPSA members, including a member who was
2 also a plaintiff in the *Ramos* lawsuit, which challenged the prior TPS terminations during
3 the first Trump administration, helped give me the courage to be part of this lawsuit.

4 24. I do not know what I will do if my TPS ends in April. I have not been able to
5 sleep at night since the termination was announced.

6 25. My work permit and driver's license both expire on April 2, 2025. Without
7 them, I will lose my job. My legal status will be terminated on April 7, 2025.

8 26. I cannot go back to Venezuela. Conditions there have not improved. If
9 anything, they have gotten worse. And I have an obligation to help my parents, who
10 depend on the financial support I have been providing. They raised me and gave me so
11 much. Now it is my turn to help them.

12 27. I have always tried to follow the rules and do things correctly. But I feel like
13 I am now in an impossible situation and I have no idea what to do.

14
15 I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct, and that this
16 declaration was executed at Culver City, California this 19th day of February, 2025.

17
18 /s/ Hendrina Vivas Castillo

19 Hendrina Vivas Castillo
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CIVIL LOCAL RULE 5.1 ATTESTATION

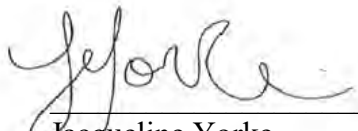
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/s/ Emilou Maclean
Emilou Maclean




City of New York, State of New York, County of New York

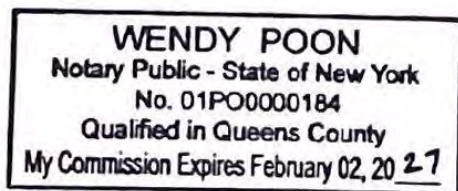
I, Jacqueline Yorke, hereby certify that the document “**DECLARATION OF HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO**” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate translation from English into Spanish (LA).



Jacqueline Yorke

Sworn to before me this
February 19, 2025



Signature, Notary Public

Stamp, Notary Public

DECLARACIÓN DE HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO

Yo, Hendrina Vivas Castillo, declaro lo siguiente:

1. Tengo conocimiento personal de los hechos establecidos en esta declaración.

Si se me solicita que declare como testigo, podría hacerlo y testificaría estos hechos.

2. Tengo 49 años y soy ciudadana de Venezuela. He vivido en los Estados Unidos desde julio de 2023 y soy beneficiaria de la designación de Condición de Protección Temporal (TPS) de 2023. Como resultado de la decisión de la secretaria de Seguridad Nacional, Kristi Noem, de terminar la TPS para Venezuela, espero perder mi autorización de trabajo y licencia de conducir el 2 de abril de 2025, y mi estado legal el 7 de abril de 2025.

3. Soy miembro de la National TPS Alliance, y me inscribí voluntariamente porque creo en la misión de la organización de defender el programa de la TPS.

4. Presento esta declaración para describir el daño que he sufrido desde el anuncio del *vacatur* de la TPS de extensión para Venezuela y el daño que sufriríamos si la TPS finalmente se terminara.

Antecedentes

5. En Venezuela, era propietaria de una pequeña empresa. Aproximadamente en 2019, junto con mi hermano y un amigo de mi familia, inicié un negocio para fabricar separadores de huevos. Muchos no creían que fuera posible iniciar un negocio en Venezuela con la crisis económica y política, pero creíamos en nosotros mismos y queríamos intentarlo.

6. Al principio, nuestro principal problema era que, debido al racionamiento de la electricidad, se seguía cortando la luz. Pasábamos hasta cinco o seis horas sin luz.

7. Nuestros problemas empeoraron cuando el gobierno declaró que el cartón y el papel reciclado que eran un material principal en nuestra fábrica debían considerarse “materiales de importancia estratégica” para el gobierno. Tras eso, se volvió mucho más difícil y costoso comprar y transportar el material que necesitábamos.

8. Aproximadamente en 2022, uno de mis socios comerciales fue detenido por

1 la Guardia Nacional. Lo acusaron de transportar material de importancia estratégica sin el
2 permiso adecuado y lo amenazaron con hasta veinte años de prisión. Finalmente, fue
3 liberado luego de seis días, pero la experiencia fue aterradora para mí. Todos los días que
4 fue detenido, viajaba de dos a tres horas hacia la cárcel para llevarle comida. En
5 Venezuela, las condiciones en las cárceles son horribles. No hay suficientes alimentos y las
6 personas mueren de hambre y enfermedad. Si la familia o los amigos de un prisionero no
7 les traen comida, no comen.

8 9. Estaba tan asustada después de eso que nunca regresé a nuestra fábrica.

9 10. Por último, tuvimos que cerrar nuestro negocio. Acaba de volverse
10 demasiado difícil y costoso mantenerlo abierto.

11 11. Además de los problemas con mi negocio, la crisis económica en Venezuela
12 me estaba afectando emocionalmente. La vida diaria en Venezuela es muy difícil. Pasas
13 regularmente cinco o seis horas sin electricidad. Se hacen líneas muy largas para comprar
14 gas natural y gasolina. Comencé a sentirme constantemente deprimida por la situación.
15 Parecía que podía pasar toda mi vida esperando que las cosas mejoraran y preguntándome
16 si alguna vez lo harían.

17 12. En julio de 2023, decidí visitar los Estados Unidos. En aquel momento, no
18 tenía la intención de quedarme a largo plazo. Mi plan era conocer un poco el país y luego
19 regresar a Venezuela. Volé a Los Ángeles e ingresé con una visa de visitante. Una amiga
20 cercana de Venezuela dejó que me quedara con ella en su casa.

21 13. En octubre de 2023, mientras aún visitaba los Estados Unidos, Venezuela fue
22 designada para la Condición de Protección Temporal. Gracias a que había llegado antes del
23 31 de julio de 2023, era elegible para presentar una solicitud. Mi familia en Venezuela me
24 alentó a que me quedara en los Estados Unidos porque la situación en Venezuela seguía
25 siendo extremadamente difícil.

26 **Impacto de la Condición de protección temporal**

27 14. Cuando recibí mi estado de TPS y autorización de trabajo, me sentía
28 bendecida. Estaba muy contenta de poder estar aquí en este país de manera legítima. Fue

1 muy satisfactorio poder obtener una licencia de conducir y un número de seguro social,
2 abrir mi cuenta bancaria propia y comenzar a trabajar.

3 15. Antes de recibir mi permiso de trabajo, solo hacía trabajos ocasionales aquí y
4 allá, como hace aseo en casas y cuidar niños. Una vez que tuve mi autorización de trabajo
5 y una licencia de conducir, mi amigo me mostró cómo solicitar trabajo en algunas
6 empresas de entrega basadas en aplicaciones. Mi situación económica comenzó a mejorar.

7 16. A medida que mi nueva vida en Los Ángeles se solventaba, sentía que mi
8 estado emocional comenzaba a cambiar. Ya no me sentía deprimida todo el tiempo. Me
9 sentía más estable, tanto emocional como económicamente. Estaba feliz.

10 17. Con mis trabajos de entrega, podía enviar algo de dinero a mis padres y a mi
11 hija adulta en Venezuela. Todos los venezolanos que conozco que viven fuera del país
12 hacen esto. Tenemos que ayudar a nuestras familias, porque es muy difícil salir adelante
13 con los salarios en Venezuela.

14 18. Mi madre es profesora. Tiene un título de posgrado. Pero en Venezuela,
15 todavía no gana lo suficiente para comprar las cosas básicas que necesita. El dinero que le
16 envió la ayuda a ella y a mi padre a comprar alimentos y medicamentos.

17 **Impacto de la decisión de terminar la TPS**

18 19. En enero de este año, me enteré de la extensión de la designación de TPS de
19 Venezuela de un abogado de inmigración que sigo en las redes sociales. Me sentí tan
20 aliviada, como si me levantaran un peso del pecho.

21 20. Luego, unas semanas después, me desperté encontrando muchos mensajes en
22 mi teléfono de una amiga cercano de mi familia. Me contó que la extensión de la TPS
23 había sido revocada. Me consumía la preocupación y el estrés. Mi mente daba vueltas,
24 tratando de averiguar qué hacer.

25 21. Recientemente solicité asilo por la persecución que experimenté en
26 Venezuela. Pero entiendo que mi solicitud de asilo pendiente no me protege contra la
27 posibilidad de deportación una vez que mi TPS venza.

28 22. Unos días después de que se revocara la extensión de la TPS, los

1 organizadores sindicales que nos han ayudado a los conductores de entregas se organizan
2 para mejorar nuestras condiciones laborales llamaron a una reunión para hablar sobre la
3 TPS. Compartieron que una organización llamada National TPS Alliance estaba trabajando
4 con los titulares de TPS con la intención de defender el programa TPS. Me sentía nerviosa,
5 pero decidí que quería involucrarme porque estas decisiones de la TPS están afectando mi
6 vida.

7 23. Me uní a la National TPS Alliance voluntariamente, porque creo en su
8 misión de defender la TPS. Hablar con otros miembros de la NTPSA, incluido un miembro
9 que también era demandante en la demanda de *Ramos*, que impugnaba las anteriores
10 rescisiones de la TPS durante la primera administración de Trump, me ayudó a darme el
11 coraje de ser parte de esta demanda.

12 24. No sé qué haré si mi TPS se termina en abril. No he podido dormir por la
13 noche desde que se anunció la rescisión.

14 25. Mi permiso de trabajo y licencia de conducir vencen el 2 de abril de 2025.
15 Sin ellos, perderé mi trabajo. Mi condición legal finalizará el 7 de abril de 2025.

16 26. No puedo volver a Venezuela. Las condiciones no han mejorado. Al
17 contrario, han empeorado. Y tengo la obligación de ayudar a mis padres, que dependen del
18 apoyo financiero que les he estado proporcionando. Me criaron y me dieron tanto. Ahora
19 es mi turno de ayudarlos.

20 27. Siempre he intentado seguir las reglas y hacer las cosas correctamente. Pero
21 siento que ahora estoy en una situación imposible y no tengo idea de qué hacer.

22

23 Declaro bajo pena de perjurio que lo anterior es verdadero y correcto, y que esta
24 declaración se firmó en Culver City, California, el día 19 de febrero de 2025.

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Hendrina Vivas Castillo